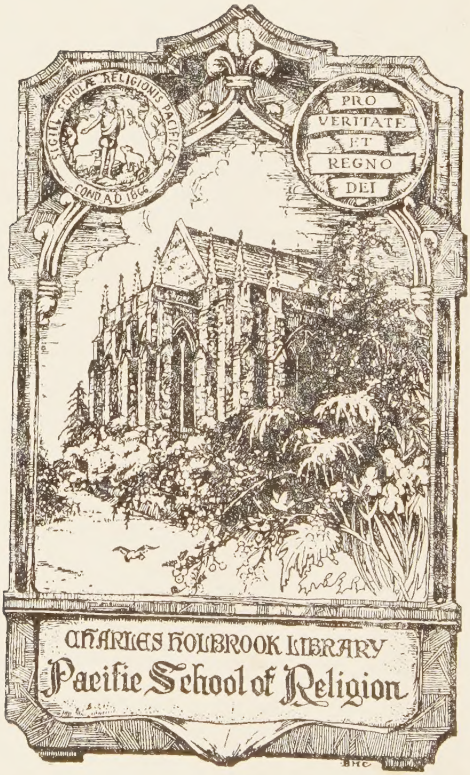
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PUBLICATIONS

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 3

PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WASHINGTON, DEC. 26 AND 27, 1894

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

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HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE,
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DR. J. H. HOLLANDER,
MAX J. KOHLER.

All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. CYRUS ADLER, Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal participated in some degree in the voyages which led to the discovery of America, and that there were Jews from Holland, Great Britain, Jamaica and other countries among the earliest settlers of several of the colonies. There were also a number of Jews in the Continental army, and others contributed liberally to defray the expenses of the Revolutionary war. Since the foundation of our government a number of Jews have held important public positions. The genealogy of these men and the record of their achievements will, when gathered together, be of value and interest to the historian and perchance contribute materially to the history of our country.

The objects for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons who have an interest in the work of the Society is cordially invited.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

The third annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at Washington on Wednesday and Thursday, December 26 and 27, 1894, in the parlor of the Arlington Hotel. Three sessions were held: two on Wednesday, beginning at 11 A. M. and 3 P. M., and one on Thursday, beginning at 11 A. M.

The Treasurer presented the following Report:

RICHARD GOTTHEIL, *Treasurer, in account with the* AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DR.

December 24, 1894.

Balance in Treasury, October 1, 1893	$300 35
Dues from members	1,074 00
Sale of Publications	33 50
Extra	7 50
Interest from Knickerbocker Trust Company, 2 per cent.	5 94
Total receipts	$1,421 29

CR.

Printing Publications No. 2	$338 74
Printing separates and distribution	49 99
Printing notices	17 61
Postage and stationery	58 73
Clerical services	48 65
Purchase of manuscript	5 00
Total expenses	518 72
Balance on hand	902 57
	$1,421 29

Audited and found correct.

ADOLPH G. WOLF,
CYRUS ADLER.

The Corresponding Secretary presented brief notices of the members of the Society who had died during the year, and reported upon the gratifying progress which the Society is making. The President delivered his annual address at the second session.

Following the transaction of the necessary business, twenty papers were read either in their entirety or by caption.

It was decided to hold the next meeting in Philadelphia, during the month of December, 1895.

The President announced that Mr. Lazarus Straus, of New York, had donated five hundred dollars to the Society for the purpose of furthering original research. A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Straus for his generous gift to the Society. The thanks of the Society were also voted to Mr. Roessle for the use of the rooms of the Arlington Hotel.

The President appointed as the Committee on Publications: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Mr. Mendes Cohen, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., and Dr. Charles Gross.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, *New York.*

Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

It is for the third time my privilege to welcome you to the annual meeting of our Society; first in Philadelphia on December 15th, 1892; then in the city of New York on December 27th, 1893; and on this occasion, in the National Capital.

Our Society has had a gradual and healthy growth, and is every year attracting to itself historical students and persons interested in the objects for which we strive. Through our annual publications our work has become better known, and year by year the papers read at our annual meetings reveal new data, while the channels of our investigations run deeper into the early settlement of our continent.

The motives underlying colonization in all ages may be classified as either for conquest, for commerce, or for causes of conscience. The first of these motives arose chiefly from the ambition of rulers, and found its greatest development under Alexander and the Cæsars, when Greece and Rome in turn ruled the world. Commerce and causes of conscience, as the chief motives for colonization, began more distinctly to operate at the close of the middle ages, and were the chief factors in colonizing the southern portion of our continent in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the northern portion a century later. Religious persecution as a cause for colonization has always supplied the best element for building up new countries, as the class of people thereby expelled were generally the most superior in character and the more advanced in intelligence and ability. The best, and

not the worst, members of a community, were they who in all ages sacrificed every material advantage upon the altar of their spiritual convictions. As an illustration we have only to be reminded of the Puritan and Huguenot colonizations in our country. A century earlier we find traces of a similar but more accentuated type among the earlier settlers in Brazil, Mexico, Surinam and the West Indies. These traces, however, are not so patent, because the Jews of Spain and Portugal who came to the American plantations to escape the terrors of the Inquisition had to continue to conceal their faith, and in many instances, under changed names, their identity, for the flames of the *auto-da-fe* followed these fugitives to their new homes.

Dr. Kayserling says, Columbus gave the newly discovered lands from the first a decidedly religious or ecclesiastical coloring. Moors and Jews were not allowed to settle there. Even Marranos, or New Christians, who had been persecuted by the Inquisition, were prohibited from going to the new world. Notwithstanding these prohibitions, one of the first, if not the first, to carry on extensive commerce with the new world was the Marrano Juan Sanchez, who lived in Seville, and who was the nephew of the Treasurer-General of Aragon, Gabriel Sanchez, who in 1502 received permission from Isabella to take five caravels loaded with wheat, barley and horses to Española or Haiti, which concession was continued for many years in return for certain services he had rendered to the Crown.* In spite of the stringent laws a large number of these Jewish fugitives from Spain and Portugal, noblemen, men of learning and position, and prosperous merchants, were among the earliest settlers in American plantations, the Islands, and in Brazil. This prohibition was removed in 1577 upon the payment to the state, by the Jews in the American colonies, of the enormous sum

* Dr. M. Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* [Longmans, Green & Co., 1894], p. 126.

of 1,700,000 crusados, equal to about $714,000 in our money. This immunity, however, was only of short duration. The persecutions under the Inquisition continued, and thousands of Jews in the colonies and in Holland made common cause with the Dutch in their struggle against Spain. They also gave material assistance against the Portuguese in conquering Brazil, which became a Dutch colony.*

Mr. Lucien Wolf, the President of the Jewish Historical Society of England, whose scholarly researches have thrown much new light upon the resettlement of the Jews in England under the Commonwealth,† shows that the Navigation Act which the Long Parliament passed in 1651 had a direct effect upon the Jews who were settled in the Dutch and English colonies. The object of this famous measure was to exclude foreign nations from the colonial trade, and to supplant the Dutch in carrying and distributing the traffic of Europe. Mr. Wolf says: "A considerable number of Dutch Jews were already settled in Jamaica and Barbados, and when their transactions became limited to the London market, their former correspondents in Amsterdam found it necessary to establish houses in the English metropolis. The reconquest of Pernambuco by the Portuguese in 1655 added to the Jewish population of the British colonies, besides founding an enormous community at Surinam."

The sugar industry of Barbados and the vanilla trade of Jamaica were almost exclusively in Jewish hands. The principal trade of our New England colonies was with Barbados, Jamaica, Surinam and Brazil—almost exclusively with those communities where the trade was largely controlled by the Spanish and Portuguese refugees and their descendants.

It is quite probable, we will find, that it was largely due to the Navigation Act, coupled with the liberal laws of the

* Graetz's *History of the Jews*, vol. IV, p. 693. Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894.

† *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Nov. 30, 1894.

Rhode Island colony, that in 1658 fifteen Jewish families from Holland settled in Newport. They were in good circumstances, and the heads of these families were chiefly merchants of education and experience in transmarine commerce.

The persecution of the Jews in Spain and Portugal and their dispersion to the four corners of the earth, which presents such a dark picture, had a bright side in its consequences, in that it fostered international commerce; for these refugees in the several countries wherein they settled soon established mercantile correspondence with one another, thereby building up a profitable trade between such countries. Thus, in a measure, is due the trade of the Italian republics with the Levant, and of Holland, England and New England with Surinam, Barbados, Jamaica and Brazil.

Our confrères of the Jewish Historical Society of England are searching the records of England with excellent results, and I would recommend co-operation wherever possible, as this can only prove of mutual help and advantage.

I trust before many years we may be able to depute some one or more of our members to visit the localities of these early Spanish, Portuguese, English and Dutch settlements, so that extensive researches can there be accurately and satisfactorily made. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the scope of our Society's work is limited and that the material does not lie on the surface. Patient search and the high skill of the historical investigator are required to bring to light this neglected portion of our history, and we must not feel discouraged if our progress at times be slow and if only isolated facts are discovered. As more and more of these facts are collected we will doubtless find the converging relations. Commerce and the diffusion of civilization are closely allied. The ships which exchange the products of different lands transmit at the same time some of the thought, the arts, sciences and the civilization of the countries from which the products come. The channel of communica-

tion once established, along the same current colonization has ever flowed. Especially was this so in Spain and Portugal, where the conditions of life for the hunted children of Israel were made unendurable even in their disguises as Marranos or New Christians.

I have every belief, that a careful investigation will reveal a much larger emigration to America and the contiguous islands, than history has taken note of. The closing chapters of the history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal are the opening chapters of their history on this continent, and are intimately connected with the early settlements in North America. It is for that reason I have deemed it proper on this occasion to confine my observations to what appears to me to be the most important phase of the work we have before us, and because this line of inquiry will throw much new light upon the early commerce of this country, which brought prosperity to the New England colonies and stimulated emigration to our shores.

SOME FURTHER REFERENCES RELATING TO HAYM SALOMON.

By Dr. J. H. Hollander, *Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.*

An unpublished sketch of Haym Salomon, prepared by his son Haym M. Salomon and found among the papers of Jared Sparks, was printed in the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 2, 1894.

In a bibliographical note by the present writer, appended to that sketch, an enumeration was given of all printed material known to exist relating to the life and services of Haym Salomon. The belief was further expressed that a large amount of additional material must still be extant, whether in letters or memoranda, in print or in manuscript, and general co-operation in the work of collection was invited.

The memoranda here appended have been courteously contributed, in accordance with this request, by Mr. Max J. Kohler, A. M., of New York, to whose careful research so many noteworthy studies in American Jewish history are due. They form a positive contribution to the meagre outline of Haym Salomon's life as we have hitherto known it. Among other things, they afford new evidence of the large financial activity of Salomon, and of his close relations with Robert Morris. The "little friend in Front street" of James Madison's letter is once for all identified with the Jewish patriot, and the precise time of the latter's death is verified.

It seems best to append the memoranda here merely as *Quellen*, and to postpone their further examination to a time, it is to be hoped not far off, when a full consecutive narrative of Salomon's life may be possible.*

* For a statement of the significance of at least one of these memoranda (Appendix C), see an article by the present writer, "The Relations of James Madison and Haym Salomon," in *The Jewish Exponent* (Philadelphia), January 18, 1895.

Appendix A.

General sketches of Haym Salomon's life, in addition to those heretofore noted (*v.* Am. Jewish Hist. Publications, 2, p. 19), may be found in:

(1). Drake, Dictionary of American Biography, p. 992.

(2). Appleton, Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. V, p. 379.

(3). Westcott, "Sunday Dispatch" History of Philadelphia, chap. clv (cf. Am. Jewish Hist. Publications, 1, p. 59).

(4). Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City (6th edition, New York, 1845), pp. 26–27.

Appendix B.

[Westcott, Persons Who Took the Oath of Allegiance to Pennsylvania, p. xxiii.]

"On the 23d of December [1783] the Rabbi, Ger. Seixas of the Jewish Synagogue in Philadelphia, Simon Nathan, the Parnass or President, Asher Myers, Bernard Gratz and Haym Salomon, the Mohammed [Ma'amad] or Associates of the Council in behalf of themselves and brethren, addressed the Council of Censors in relation to the declaration required to be taken by each member of the Assembly, which affirmed that 'the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by divine inspiration'; and also in relation to that part of the Constitution which declared that no religious test should be required of any civil magistrate in the State. They represented that these provisions deprived them of the right of ever becoming representatives. They did not covet office, they said, but they thought these provisions improper, and an injustice to the members of a persuasion that had always been attached to the American cause, and given a support to the country, some in the Continental army, some in the militia, and some by cheerfully paying taxes and sustaining the popular cause."

This memorial appeared to have no immediate effect, but

it doubtless had its influence in procuring the subsequent modification of the test clause in the Constitution.

Appendix C.

[Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, December 4, 1782.]

"Haym Salomons. Broker to the Office of Finance, to the Consul General of France and to the Treasurer of the French Army, at his Office in Front Street, between Market and Arch streets . . . . . "

Appendix D.

[A Statement of the Accounts of the U. S. of America during the administration of the Superintendent of Finance (Robert Morris), 1781–1784 : Philadelphia, 1785.]

"Expenditures for Contingencies, from 1st July to 30th of September, 1783.

Sept. 23. Haym Salomon, for the Expence of a Law Suit against Mons. De Mars, 414 Dollars 14–90ths."

Appendix E.

[Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, January 1, 1785.]

"Haym Salomon. Broker to the Office of Finance having provided a license for exercising the employment of an Auctioneer in the city of New York, has now opened, for the reception of every species of merchandise his house, No. 22 Wall street, lately occupied by Mr. Anthony Bleekeer, (one of the best stands in the city) and every branch of business, which in the smallest degree appertains to the profession of Factor Auctioneer and Broker, will be transacted in it, with that fidelity, despatch and punctuality, which has hitherto characterized his dealings.

The house in point of convenience and situation is exceedingly well calculated for the different kinds of business above mentioned ; and he thinks it almost unnecessary, to assure those who may favour it with their orders, that the strictest

attention shall be paid to them, and the utmost care and solicitude employed to promote their interests.

The nature of his business enables him to make remittances to any part of the world, with peculiar facility, and this he hopes will operate considerably in his favor with those who live at a distance.

A desire of being more extensively useful, and of giving universal satisfaction to the public, are among his principal motives for opening the house, and shall be the great leading principles of his transactions.

By being Broker to the Office of Finance, and honored with its confidence, all those sums have passed through his hands, which the generosity of the French Monarch, and the affection of the merchants of the United Provinces, prompted them to furnish us with, to enable us to support the expence of the war, and which have so much contributed to its successful and happy termination.—This is a circumstance which has established his credit and reputation, and procured him the confidence of the public—a confidence which it shall be his study and ambition to merit and increase, by sacredly performing all his engagements.

The business will be conducted upon the most liberal and extensive plan, under the firm name of Haym Solomon and Jacob Mordecai.

Philadelphia, May 7, 1784."

[The above advertisement is printed both in French and in English and is followed by the appended:]

"Haym Salomon. Authorized Broker of the Office of Finance etc., etc., has now to dispose of at his Office in Front street, (where he transacts in the most extensive manner every branch of business relative to his profession), Bank Stocks . . ."

Appendix F.

[Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, January 8, 1785.]

"On Thursday last (*January* 6) died Haym Salomons, Broker."

Appendix G.

[Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, January 15, 1785.]

"All persons indebted to the estate of Haym Salomon, late of this city, Broker, deceased, are requested to make payment; and those who have demands against the said estate are desired to deliver them properly attested to

(Signed) Rachel Salomon, Administratrix.

Thomas Fitzsimons,
Matthew Clarkson,
Eleazor Levy,
Joseph Carson,
} Administrators.

Phila., *Jan.* 14, 1785."

THE EARLIEST RABBIS AND JEWISH WRITERS OF AMERICA.

By Dr. M. Kayserling, *Buda-Pest, Austro-Hungary.*

Brazil, the most blessed country of the world, was the part of America which was earliest inhabited by the professors of Judaism. The Portuguese, as did the Spaniards later on, sent to Brazil the common criminals, and the innocent Marranos who had been robbed of their property by the Inquisition. After the country had passed into the possession of Holland, the Marranos, throwing off the mask of disguise, professed themselves openly as Jews and joined their co-religionists who, being like themselves Spanish-Portuguese exiles, had settled there as a congregation.

Among the earliest settlers of Brazil was Ephraim Sueiro, a step-brother of the famous Amsterdam Rabbi, Menasse ben Israel, who intended to follow him in 1640 and to engage with him in business. It was not greed that prompted the faithful devotee of science to this resolution, but necessity; he could not support his family with the small salary which he received from the large and rich congregation. "Menasse intends to emigrate to Brazil," writes the old Vossius in January, 1640, to Hugo Grotius; "he will there be chiefly engaged in business. Family circumstances compel him to take this step, as he is without means."* "I wish from my heart that Menasse may do well," answered Grotius on the 2d of February, "and only regret that his circumstances cause him to move so far away from us. If I could render him a service in return for the many kindnesses he has shown me, I should do it with pleasure. I always believed that the Jews of Amsterdam were rich and liberal, but I see now that I was mistaken."†

Differences with the *Parnassim* (Presidents) of his con-

* Vossii Epistol. I, p. 345: Menasse Brasiliam cogitat . . . praecipue mercaturam excerceat. Non parum studia amat et gloriam sitit: sed res familiaris suadet quod dixi.

† Grotii Epistol., p. 596.

gregation, who in their innate pride would in no way derogate from their dignity and allow to no one the position belonging to them alone, confirmed him in his resolution. All the preparations for the voyage had been made. He had obtained from the Prince of Orange recommendations to the American, or rather West Indian Trade Company,* and the second part of his "Conciliador," which had just appeared, he dedicated to the most prominent men of the congregation of Recife near Pernambuco, David Senior Coronel, Doctor Abraham de Mercado,† Jahacob Mucate, Ishac Castanho‡ and others. He was on the point of "abandoning forever the tent into which noble and learned men entered so often," when the Jews of Amsterdam recognized the worth of the man and made arrangements to dissuade him from his plan of emigrating. Menasse remained in Amsterdam for the weal of his co-religionists. In Brazil he would never have been able to effect the restoration of the Jews to England.§

In 1642 several hundred Spanish-Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam embarked for Brazil, where Don Francisco Fernandez de Mora, the grandfather of the wife of D. David Bueno de Mesquita of Amsterdam, held important offices.‖ In their company were two Jewish scholars, Ishac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar; both were still young, and courageously determined to undertake the distant

* Vossii Epistol. I, p. 345: Menasse iam ab Aransionensi principe commendationes accepit ad negationis Americanae praefectos.

† Graetz names him (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X, p. 27, Abraham de Moncado. The Mercados mentioned in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 97, whose tombstones were found in Barbados, belong without doubt to the family of Abraham de Mercado; d—— (doutor) Mercado mentioned there who died in 1660 is very likely identical with Abraham de Mercado mentioned here.

‡ Graetz, *l. c.* vol. X, p. 27, writes Cathunho, instead of Castanho, a name which does not occur among the Spanish-Portuguese Jews.

§ See my *Menasse ben Israel. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Berlin, 1861).

‖ . . . Es del magno Don Francisco Fernandez de Mora . . . que en Lisia, Brasil y Etruria excelsos cargos grangea. D. L. de Barrios, *Opuscula*, last af.

and dangerous voyage. Aboab, born in 1605, was a good Talmudic scholar and an excellent speaker, who, at the age of 21, had been appointed *Chacham* (Rabbi) of one of the Portuguese congregations of Amsterdam; Aguilar had the reputation of being an able grammarian. Arrived at Brazil, Aboab became *Chacham*, Aguilar *Chazan* (Reader) of the congregation of Recife, which would have become one of the largest and richest, had it not been hindered in its development by the disturbances of war; it was dissolved after a short existence. The new settlers enjoyed tranquillity only for a few years, for already in 1645 the sanguinary struggles, for the possession of the colony, between the Portuguese and the Hollanders began. The Jews stood faithfully on the side of the Hollanders, who had granted them perfect equality, and distinguished themselves by courage and heroism as well as by succor to the distressed. During the war Abraham Coen, a rich and high-minded man of Amsterdam who was in great favor with Duke Moritz of Nassau, supported Jews and Christians, in such a magnanimous way that the Supreme Council of the Brazilian people looked with admiration at the great work of mercy.* Ishac Aboab faithfully

*Daniel Levi de Barrios celebrates the great-hearted Abraham Coen in the following sonnet:

Abraham Coen en el Brasil remoto
del Principe Mauricio halló el agrado
prospero y noble, y oy del Rey Empireo
goço la luz en ideal palacio.
Cerco al Brasil el luso belicoso
en nueve años continuos, que empeçaron
en el de mil seiscientos y quarenta
y cinco, contra el valeroso Holandio.
Y en todos con magnanima grandeza
el grande Abraham Coen sustento à quantos
Judios y Cristianos de su auxilio
en la miseria atroz necesitaron.
Entonces los Señoras del Supremo
Consejo sobre el Pueblo Brasiliano
vieron del fiel Coen la piedad grande.

Jacob Coen, the eldest son of Abraham, became "Contador mayor," Receiver-General of Duke Moritz of Nassau.

discharged the duties of his office; he ordered days of fasting and of prayer, and his fiery speeches encouraged his co-religionists to perseverance and devotion. It was a fierce struggle of nine years which brought much suffering on the Jews. Recife was besieged and the garrison decimated by hunger.* "Many of the Jewish immigrants were killed by the enemy, many died of hunger. The remainder were exposed to death from similar causes. Those who had been accustomed to delicacies were glad to be able to satisfy their hunger with dry bread; soon they could not obtain even this; they were in want of everything, and were preserved alive as by a miracle." The sufferings which the Jews endured in Brazil are related by Aboab not only in brief allusions in the introduction to the Hebrew translation of the Kabbalistic work of Abraham Cohen Herrera which was begun soon after his return to Amsterdam,† but in detail in a special work composed in the Hebrew language, under the title, "I have made the wonderful works of God to be remembered. On the sufferings of the Jews in Brazil," which is still preserved in manuscript. Isbac Aboab was the first Rabbi and at the same time the first Jewish writer in America; the first work written by a Jew in America was a history of suffering related in verse.‡

Besides that at Recife, a Jewish congregation was formed at Tamarica, the *Chacham* being named Jacob Lagarto. He was in all probability a son of Simon Lagarto, whose wife died in Amsterdam in 1627. All that we know concerning Jacob Lagarto is derived from De Barrios; Jacob came to Brazil as a young man, and he was the author of a "Catálogo

*See Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, p. 276 ff., and Isaac da Costa, *Israel und die Völker*, p. 318 ff.

†Aboab began the translation on the 22d of Siwan 5415 = June, 1655.

‡The work exists in manuscript in the library of the Theological Society "Arbol de las Vidas" at Amsterdam. I shall return to this subject later.

Universal" containing aphorisms and bearing the title of "Tienda de Jacob" or "Ohel Jacob" (Tent of Jacob).* That the pamphlet, which is no longer in existence, contained "Talmudic aphorisms" is only a surmise of Wolf, on the ground of which Lagarto was made by Graetz to be the "first Talmudic writer in South America"; besides, it is not feasible to assume that Lagarto wrote the pamphlet in America.

As *Chacham* and *Chazan* in Brazil is also mentioned an entirely unknown person, Jacob de Aguilar, a pupil of Abraham de Fonseca.†

The possession of Brazil was lost to the Hollanders in 1654, and with this ended for the Jews the short time during which they enjoyed liberty of residence and the free exercise of religion. The congregations were dissolved. Part of the Jewish population returned to Europe with Aboab and Aguilar, who resumed their former positions; the Pereyras, the Mezas, Abraham de Castro, Josua Sarfati, both surnamed el Brasil, and others settled in Amsterdam; others, as Doctor Velosino, the father of Jacob de Andrade Velosino, who was born in Pernambuco, and wrote in the Spanish language against Spinoza's Tract. Theologico-Politico, as also against the work of the Calvinist preacher Jaquelot "On the Messiah," settled in the Hague;‡ some remained in America

*D. L. de Barrios, *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 87:

Jacob Lagarto se presenta al pueblo de Tamarica.

Catálogo Universal es su Quaderno que Tienda de Jacob intitulado Aphorismos empapela.

Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. III, 1066[b], writes, "Clavem Aphorismorum talmudicorum." The title ס' המאמרים mentioned by him was probably originated by himself to translate "Aphorismos." The Catal. quoted of the collection of books of Ishac Aboab is not known to me.

†Barrios says of him: De Abraham de Fonseca discipulo es Jacob de Aguilar claro Rabi y Jasan en el Brasil famoso.

‡See my *Jacob de Andrade de Velosino* in *Steinschneider's Hebr. Bibliographie*, vol. III, p. 58 f.

and chose for their residence New Amsterdam, Cayenne or Curaçao. Co-religionists from the old world soon joined them. In August, 1660, a hundred and fifty-two Jews of both sexes and of various conditions of life embarked at Livorno on the "Monte del Cisne" for Cayenne; among them was the Spanish-Jewish poet and historian of literature, Miguel or Daniel Levi de Barrios, with his young wife Deborah, who, however, died soon after the arrival at Tabago.* De Barrios returned to Europe; in August, 1662, he married again.

The Jews, expelled from Cayenne, also settled in Surinam. With a small band of co-religionists, David Nasi set out thither. The Dutch government granted the colonists, who distinguished themselves by industry, prosperity and thrift, not only free exercise of their religion, but also many rights and privileges. Of great influence on the free development of the colony, as on the condition of the Jewish inhabitants, was the activity of Samuel Nasi, a talented and scientifically trained man,† who is designated as "Citizens' Captain," and was a candidate for the position of governor.

The first *Chacham* or Rabbi in Surinam was Ishac Neto,‡ who is to be distinguished from another Ishac Neto, the son of the chief Rabbi of London, David Neto, who lived later. Our Ishac Neto received his education with Josiahu Pardo, Jacob Abendana, the Spanish translator of the Cusari and the well-known chief Rabbi of London and others, at the institution founded by the rich De Pintos in Rotterdam, which was transferred in 1669, after the death of one of its founders, to Amsterdam. Ishac Neto held, for several years, the position of a teacher and preacher at various charitable

* See *Sephardim. Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (Berlin, 1859), p. 266.

† Barrios, *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 90: Del pueblo de Surinam Samuel Nasi señorea el coraçon con los dones y el estudio con la ciencia.

‡ Barrios, *l. c.*, 90: Allá (en Surinam) el Jaxam *Ishac Neto* buzo de la ley suprema, saco doctrinales conchas por vestir preciosas perlas.

institutions in the congregation of Amsterdam.* We have no details as to the time of his call to Surinam, which must have taken place towards 1674, nor of his further fortune and death. Neto's fellow-pupil, Joseph Franco, lived with him at the same time in Surinam as *Chacham* or *Chazan*, and his friend and colleague in Amsterdam, Eliahu Lopez, entered as a young man upon the position of *Chacham* in Barbados.†

The Jewish congregation of Curação also received from Amsterdam her first *Chacham* in the person of Josiahu Pardo. He was the son of David Pardo, who since 1639 constituted with Saul Levi Morteira, Menasse ben Israel and Ishac Aboab, the college of Rabbis in Amsterdam, and the son-in-law of the Morteira just mentioned, whose collection of sermons "Gibath Saul" he prefaced by a poem. He was invested with the dignity of a *Chacham* at the institution of the de los Pintos, in which he himself received his education. In 1674 he went as *Chacham* to Curação, and in 1683 he followed a call to Jamaica.‡

After the death of Ishac Neto there probably officiated as *Chacham* in Surinam the son of Josiahu Pardo, David Pardo.

* Barrios, *Temime Derech*, s. p.:

Su primer Rós ó doctrinal Cabeça
el *Jaxam Ishac Neto* la preside,
y *oy en la Indiana Sa(u)rinam, riqueza*
Del Bien Mosayco, preceptor reside.

Barrios, *Abi Yetomim*, p. 40 :

Merecen ser nombrados por la ciencia,
Que huerfanos aprenden con desvelo,
Ishac Neto, Jaxam en Indio suelo,
En su escuela con artos de eloquencia.

† Barrios, *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 91 :

Eliahu Lopez Ley enseña,
Jaxam desde que mancebo la barba
En Barbadoes echa.

‡ Barrios, Jesiba de los Pintos (2) : Josiahu Pardo . . . este es oy Jaxam del Kahal Kados de Curação. Barrios, *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 83 : Josiahu Pardo eloquente. A su padre y suegro imita (David Pardo y Morteira), en Curação fue Jaxam y oy lo es en Jamaica.

This David Pardo did not come from London to Surinam, and must not be confounded with another David Pardo, a grandson of David Pardo mentioned above and a nephew of Josiahu Pardo. The latter officiated in London as *Chazan*, not as *Chacham*, and promoted the printing of the *Sepher Schulchan Tahor*, a work composed by his father, Joseph Pardo, Chazan in London, who died August 24, 1677, at Amsterdam.* Our David Pardo died, as David Nieto in London wrote in July, 1716, to the bibliophile Unger, "in America, in Surinam, nearly three years ago."†

*The notice in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 29, is accordingly to be corrected.

†ר' דוד פרדו מת באמיריקא בסורינאם זה סמוך לג' שנים. The manuscript letter is preserved in the City Library of Hamburg, and has recently been published by A. Berliner.

THE AMERICAN JEW AS SOLDIER AND PATRIOT.

By Hon. Simon Wôlf, *Washington, D. C.*

For some years I have been engaged in the collection of materials for the preparation of a work principally designed to show what part was taken by American Jews during the Civil War. This work is now approaching completion, and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to lay some of the results attained before this society.

Whether the task would have been undertaken had I foreseen its almost insurmountable difficulties I am not prepared to say, for the farther the work advanced the more numerous were the obstacles.

From some States I am grieved to say I was not able to get any information; from others, so little as to be really painful on account of its being so insignificant and so far below the undoubted facts. From some States the information, if not quite up to the mark, is rather gratifying. My sincere thanks are due to my friends in the Southern States for full and complete reports received.

Virginia furnished 113 men, of whom 15 were wounded and 2 died in captivity, a total loss of over 25 per cent.

The list of North Carolina gives 52 men, of whom 3 were wounded and killed, 2 captured, 8 died from wounds at Elmira, N. Y., making a loss of 33 per cent.

South Carolina furnished 177 soldiers, of whom 20 were wounded, 29 killed and 5 captured, suffering a loss of over 30 per cent.

Tennessee furnished 38 men, of whom 3 were wounded, 7 killed and 2 died in captivity, a loss of almost 32 per cent.

I have at this date 7243 men on my list; but over 1600 names cannot be properly classified as to State, regiment, and period of service.

On the 12th day of July, 1862, President Lincoln gave his approval to an act of Congress authorizing the President to cause to be prepared 2000 "medals of honor," to be presented to such non-commissioned officers and privates as shall most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action and other soldier-like qualities during the present insurrection.

I am not prepared to say how many soldiers of the Jewish faith were honored by such medals, but I can mention seven who have come under my notice.

First, Leopold Karpeles, color-sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry, at the battle of North Anna proved his ability to defend the flag under a terrific fire from the enemy. Although seriously wounded he held the colors aloft until weakness from loss of blood forced him to give them to a comrade. Sergeant Karpeles has high testimonials from his superior officers for bravery, daring and discipline, and is at present a clerk in the General Post-office Department.

Second, Benjamin B. Levy enlisted at the age of 16 as a drummer-boy in the 1st New York Volunteers. While his regiment was stationed at Newport News he was detailed as orderly for General Mansfield. While he was carrying dispatches on board the steamer "Express" to General Wool at Fortress Monroe, the steamboat was attacked by the Confederate gunboat "Seabird"; the steamboat with all on board was in imminent danger of capture, when young Levy saved the steamer by cutting loose a water-schooner they had in tow. For his prompt action Levy was highly complimented by Generals Mansfield and Wool.

At Charles City Cross Roads he saved two of the colors of his regiment from capture, for which act he was promoted on the field by General Kearney to color-sergeant of his regiment.

At the expiration of his term he re-enlisted in the 40th New York (Mozart) regiment and was seriously wounded at

the battle of the Wilderness. He was appointed by President Lincoln to the New York Custom House.

Third, Sergeant-major and Adjutant Abraham Cohn enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire Infantry. For distinguished services he was promoted step by step to the post of Adjutant. He served until the close of the war.

Adjutant Cohn received the medal of honor from the Assistant Adjutant General's office, and he was subsequently the recipient of the following highly gratifying communication:

"ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON,
August 14, 1879.

The medal mentioned within was given for conspicuous gallantry displayed in the battle of the Wilderness, in rallying and forming, under heavy fire, disorganized troops; also for bravery and coolness in carrying orders to the advance lines under murderous fire in the battle of the Mine, July 30, 1864.

(Signed) S. N. BENJAMIN,
Assistant Adjutant General."

Adjutant Cohn has the most gratifying testimonials from his superior officers. Before enlisting in the 6th New Hampshire he had served in the 68th New York as private and rose gradually to be Captain. Owing to sickness he was honorably discharged, being then, in the opinion of the surgeons, unfit for further duty. Notwithstanding his discharge as Captain, when again strong and able he enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire and rose to the post of Adjutant.

Fourth, David Orbanski, of the 58th Ohio Infantry, received the medal of honor for distinguished bravery and coolness under heavy fire at Shiloh, Tenn., and at Vicksburg, Miss.

Fifth, Henry Heller, of Company A, 66th Ohio Infantry, earned the medal of honor for daring bravery at Chancellorsville.

Sixth, Abraham Grunwalt, of Company G, 104th Ohio Infantry, earned his medal of honor at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, in the capture of corps headquarters' flag.

Seventh, Corporal Isaac Gans, of the 2d Ohio Cavalry, for bravery displayed on the battlefield was appointed escort to a stand of colors captured by the Third Division.

One of the most gratifying facts developed in our Civil War is the spontaneous and cheerful manner with which our citizens of Hebrew faith entered their country's service in the hour of its need. In many families all the male members able to bear arms were enrolled into the army. My list of these may not be complete, but I am able to give the names of the following families which furnished three or more men to either army:

Three brothers from Arkansas: Peter Cohen, Jack Cohen and Pool Cohen.

Six brothers from North Carolina: Aaron Cohen, Jacob H. Cohen, Julius Cohen, Edward Cohen, Gustavus A. Cohen, Henry M. Cohen.

Three brothers from Pennsylvania: Lion L. Emanuel, Louis M. Emanuel, Jonathan Emanuel.

Three brothers from New York: Abraham Feder, Henry Feder, Adolph Feder.

Three brothers from Georgia and South Carolina: Isaac A. Goldsmith, A. A. Goldsmith, M. M. Goldsmith.

Three brothers from Mississippi: Chs. H. Jonas, Julian Jonas, S. A. Jonas.

Three brothers from Ohio: Herman Koch, Moses Koch, Joseph Koch.

Three brothers from Virginia: Leopold Levy, Solomon Levy, Sampson Levy.

A father and three sons from New York: Simon Levy, Albert Levy, Ferdinand Levy, Benjamin C. Levy.

Three brothers from Louisiana: Eugene H. Levy, Julius H. Levy, Joseph C. Levy.

Five brothers from South Carolina: Percy Moses, Jr.,

Joshua L. Moses, Horace Moses, J. Harby Moses, A. Jackson Moses.

A father and three sons from Georgia: Raphael I. Moses, Raphael I. Moses, Jr., Israel N. Moses, A. L. Moses.

Three brothers from Alabama: Mordecai Moses, Henry C. Moses, Alfred Moses.

Five brothers from New York: Leopold Wenk, August Wenk, Joseph Wenk, Julius Wenk, Aaron Wenk. 51 soldiers from 14 families.

During the progress of the Civil War our government sent part of the Confederate prisoners to Elmira, N. Y., until exchanged. There can be no doubt that there were a great many Hebrews among them, for the following names of twenty-five Confederate soldiers of the Hebrew faith occur who sleep their last sleep in the Woodlawn Cemetery at Elmira:

L. Daniels, Company B, 15th South Carolina Cavalry.
Joel Cook, Company K, 63d Tennessee Infantry.
Levi Southan, Company A, 28th North Carolina Infantry.
Edward Harris, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.
James P. Altman, Company A, 21st South Carolina Infantry.
Sergeant J. Sellers, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.
Elisha Harris, Company C, Cobb's Legion.
Henry Goodman, Company G, 26th North Carolina Infantry.
W. Morris, Company C, Georgia Battery.
D. Wolf, Company G, 25th South Carolina Infantry.
I. M. Pinner, Company E, 3d North Carolina Infantry.
Benjamin Davis, Company B, 6th Virginia Infantry.
Jesse Simons, Company C, 20th North Carolina Infantry.
I. Israel, Company D, 60th Alabama Infantry.
Daniel Jonas, Company D, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
Benjamin Bass, Company H, 45th North Carolina Infantry.
Joseph Harrison, Company A, 1st Alabama Infantry.
Nathan Altman, Company G, 40th North Carolina Infantry.

Henry Daniel, Company F, 10th North Carolina Infantry.
Jacob Eberhart, Company G, 7th Georgia Cavalry.
J. Israel, Company E, 51st North Carolina Infantry.
Moses Simmons, Company G, 20th North Carolina Infantry.
Joseph Newman, Company K, 20th Virginia Infantry.
David Lewis, Company C, 22d North Carolina Infantry.
M. Daniel, Company A, 1st Florida Infantry.

The following Jewish soldiers are interred at the Jewish burying-ground in Richmond, Virginia:
Henry Adler, 14th Virginia Infantry.
Jacob A. Cohen, 15th Louisiana Infantry.
Benjamin Davis, 6th Virginia Infantry.
Corporal Gus. Eiseman, 12th Mississippi Infantry.
F. Folz, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Gustavus Kann, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Lieutenant L. S. Lippman, 5th Louisiana Infantry.
Moses Levy, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Captain M. Marcus, 15th Georgia Infantry.
Aaron Meyer, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
S. Oury, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
A. Robinson, 15th Georgia Infantry.
Jonathan Scheuer, Donaldson Artillery, Louisiana.
Lieutenant Isaac Seldner, 6th Virginia Infantry.
B. Wolfe, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
Lieutenant W. M. Wolfe, 25th Virginia Infantry.
Julius Zark, 7th Louisiana Infantry.

I will now give brief biographies of a few of the Jewish officers of the Civil War.

Brigadier General Edward S. Solomon joined the 24th Illinois Infantry as second lieutenant, participating in the battles of Frederickton and Mumfordsville, Ky. His gallantry in action and general proficiency in tactics were the cause of successive promotions, till, in 1862, Lieutenant Solomon was gazetted major of the regiment. Owing to disagreement among the officers of the command of Colonel Hecker, Major Solomon and other officers resigned and

organized another regiment under the official designation of the 82d Illinois Infantry, of which Major Solomon ultimately became colonel. As a member of the 11th Army Corps under General Howard, he participated in the campaign of which the actions at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg were salient features. He also took part in the battles around Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge; in fact, he fought throughout all the campaign in the Southwest, and was ultimately breveted to the rank of Brigadier General.

President Grant appointed General Solomon to the Governorship of Washington Territory, which position he held for four years, to the satisfaction of the citizens and to the increased industrial prosperity of the Northwest.

The following are some testimonials from superior officers:

"Headquarters 3d Division, *Aug.* 20, 1863.
Major General Howard, *Commanding 11th Corps.*

General:—On the part taken by my division in the actions of July 2d and 3d at Gettysburg I have the honor to submit the following report:

One of the five regiments of the 1st Brigade, the 74th Pennsylvania, was left with General Ames to strengthen his right wing; the remaining four were directed towards a strip of wood on the right of the division in which the firing had become heavy, and where, according to some staff officers of the First Corps, immediate aid was needed. Two regiments, the 157th New York and the 61st Ohio, were guided by one of their officers, while the other two, the 82d Illinois and the 45th New York, were led by my Chief of Staff, Lieutenant Colonel Otto, of the 50th New York.

It had meanwhile become quite dark, the direction of the fight being indicated by nothing but the sound of musketry. The regiments had entered the woods with the greatest determination and drove the enemy from our rifle pits.

It is my pleasant duty to mention as especially deserving, the names of Lieutenant Colonel Otto, who superintended this operation with great judgment and courage, and Lieutenant Colonel Solomon, of the 82d Illinois, who displayed the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances.

I am, General, very respectfully yours,
(Signed) C. SCHURZ, *Maj. Gen. commanding Division.*"

"HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION,
20TH ARMY CORPS,
NEAR KENESAW MOUNTAIN, GA., *June 26th*, 1864.
ALLEN FULLER, *Adjutant General, State of Illinois.*

Sir:—I have the honor to respectfully request that you issue a colonel's commission to Lieut. Colonel Edward S. Solomon, commanding the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, belonging to this brigade. I take pleasure in saying that it is my sincere belief that Lieutenant Colonel Solomon fully deserves this favor, not only by his inherent ability and merit as an officer, but more particularly by the gallantry and efficiency he has displayed during this campaign. The regiment he commands is his best recommendation, it being soldierly, gallant, and thoroughly disciplined. It will be accepted as a personal favor if you will make special effort to obtain the approval of Lieutenant Colonel Solomon's commission as colonel, and his muster as such by the War Department.

Respectfully your obdt. servant,
J. T. ROBINSON, *Colonel commanding,*
3d Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Army Corps."

"HEADQUARTERS 1ST DIVISION, TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS,
June 25th, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded, heartily concurring in the within recommendation.

(Signed) A. S. WILLIAMS,
Brig. Gen. Commanding Division."

"HEADQUARTERS 20TH CORPS, *June* 28th, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded. I fully concur in the within recommendation. Lieut. Colonel Solomon has won the good opinion of all his comrades by his great gallantry and good conduct, and it will be but a just and grateful appreciation of his services to confer the preferment upon him.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major General Commanding."

"HEADQUARTERS 3RD BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION,
20TH ARMY CORPS, GOLDSBORO, N. C., *April* 2, 1865.
HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

Sir:—I have the honor to recommend and earnestly request the appointment of Colonel Edward S. Solomon, of the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteers, as Brevet Brigadier General, for gallant and meritorious services.

Colonel Solomon joined this brigade with his regiment at the opening of the campaign against Atlanta in the spring of 1864. During the fighting before Resaca, Ga., on the 14th and 15th of May, this regiment behaved with great gallantry.

Again at New Hope, Ga., on the 25th of the same month, Colonel Solomon led his command with admirable coolness and courage against the enemy; after having advanced under a severe fire of musketry and artillery more than a mile, he held his line close to the entrenched position of the enemy, without a breastwork, and with a scanty supply of ammunition.

At the battle near Peach Tree Creek before Atlanta, Ga., on the 20th of July, 1864, Colonel Solomon performed a most gallant and meritorious part in repulsing the repeated onslaughts made by the enemy. In the face of a furious raking fire he held his line for four hours, when the enemy withdrew from his front with great loss.

During the siege of Atlanta Colonel Solomon was ever prominent for his energy, coolness and judgment.

In the fight near Averysboro, North Carolina, on the 16th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon, as usual, led his regiment into action with great gallantry and skill.

At the battle near Bentonville, on the 19th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon and his command drew the unqualified admiration of all who witnessed their coolness and discipline under fire, and their effectual service in repulsing several determined attacks of the enemy.

Colonel Solomon has distinguished himself in other engagements besides those which have been mentioned. At Gettysburg and Missionary Ridge his gallantry was conspicuous and challenged the highest admiration.

I consider Col. Solomon one of the most deserving officers. His regiment is his highest praise. In point of drill and discipline it is second to none in this corps. Its record will bear safe comparison with any other of the same age in the army.

Colonel Solomon has had a commission as Colonel since April, 1864, but his regiment not containing the requisite number of men, he has been unable to get mustered.

Earnestly hoping that his claims will meet your favorable attention, I remain, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. S. Robinson,

Brig. General U. S. A., Commanding 3d Brigade, 1st Division 20th Army Corps."

"Headquarters Twentieth Corps,

Goldsboro, *April* 2, 1865.

I cordially concur in the recommendation of General Robinson. The officer (Col. Solomon) has just merits. He is intelligent, gallant, brave and faithful. I have had several occasions to mark his distinguished merit. There can be no promotion more deserved.

A. S. Williams,

Brevet Maj. Gen. Commanding."

"War Department, Washington, *June* 15, 1865.

Sir:—You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you for distinguished gallantry and meritorious service during the war, a Brigadier General of Volunteers by Brevet, in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the 13th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five. Should the Senate at their next session advise and consent thereto, you will be commissioned accordingly.

(Signed) Edwin M. Stanton, *Secretary of War.*

To Brev. Brig. Gen. Edward S. Solomon, U. S. Vols."

What was thought of General Solomon and his administration as Governor of the people of Washington Territory is best explained by quoting the following article from the *Pacific Tribune,* published at the time he resigned his office of Governor:

"*Resignation of Governor Solomon.*—The acceptance of Governor Solomon's resignation by the President is universally regretted. He was honest, fearless and capable. He mingled freely with the people, identified himself with their interests and generously expended his time and means to bring hither population and to promote our material interests. He has established a reputation in the office which will make his administration a source of pride to his fellow-citizens, and he carries into his retirement the consolation that the good and true of all parties regard it fortunate that he should have been called to preside over our destinies. We speak the sentiment of our people when we express unfeigned regret that he felt it his duty to resign this office. His official acts are his best rewards. They have all met with the heartiest commendation of our people.

A thorough and consistent American, baptized in the fire of battle when gallantly sustaining the flag, he has always been true and steadfast to the principles of the Union, of which he is so distinguished a member. While ever ready

with purse, pen or tongue to maintain his principles, he was singularly free from partisan bigotry in the exercise of official functions. He governed the Territory. Party behests never made him swerve from official integrity or duty to the whole people. How proudly can he look to this episode of his life! He governed well. He satisfied all, for the welfare of the whole was constantly in his eye; he was true to the position he so happily filled.

But his successor is soon to come among us. We are ready to accord to the new Executive a cordial welcome. We can wish him, however, no higher or better aspiration than that he may prove worthy to be the successor of one who so faithfully and well performed all his duties as Edward S. Solomon."

Gen. Carl Schurz, speaking to the writer of Solomon, said, "He was the only soldier at Gettysburg who did not dodge when Lee's guns thundered; he stood up, smoked his cigar and faced the cannon balls with the *sang froid* of a Saladin."

Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel enlisted in the 67th Ohio Infantry; was soon promoted to 2d Lieutenant, Captain, Lieutenant Colonel, and for bravery manifested on the battle-field was appointed Colonel of the 120th Ohio Infantry. This brave officer was wounded at Jackson, Miss., and killed at the head of his regiment at Snaggy Point on the Red River. But for his untimely death Colonel Spiegel would have been promoted to Brigadier General, for which position he had been recommended by his superior officers. Colonel Spiegel was the son of a well known Rabbi of Oppenheim on the Rhine.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut enlisted as a private at Chicago, April, 1861, in the 12th Illinois Infantry, being the second man on the enrollment list of those who enlisted at Chicago for the war. He was promoted to sergeant, August, 1861; was with the 12th Illinois through all the campaigns under General Grant in Kentucky and Tennessee up to and

including the battle of Fort Donelson, in which battle, while storming and just before the surrender of the fort, he was seriously wounded; this necessitated his retirement from the regiment shortly thereafter. When restored to health he was appointed Captain of Company K, 82d Illinois Infantry, in which regiment he passed through the various campaigns in Virginia, under Generals Burnside, Hooker and Meade, participating at the memorable battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2 and 3, 1863; he was transferred to the staff of Brigade Commander Hecker, as Adjutant General of the brigade.

When Captain Greenhut retired from the brigade, Colonel McGroarty issued the following general order:

"Headquarters 3d Brigade, 3d Division,
11th Corps, Whitesides, Tenn., *February 28th*, 1864.
General Order No. 9.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut, of the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteers, having tendered his resignation, is, in pursuance of special order No. 55, Headquarters Department of the Cumberland, Feb. 24, 1864, relieved from duty as Assistant Adjutant General of this brigade, and Lieutenant Rudolph Muller is announced as his successor. In parting with Captain Greenhut, the Colonel commanding feels it both a duty and a pleasure to bear testimony to his diligence, zeal and fidelity in the performance of his duty in the office as well as in the field, and he regrets to see so excellent and brave an officer as Captain Greenhut leave his command.

Matters of important character only could induce Captain Greenhut to leave the army in which he served three years, taking active part in all the most decisive battles East and West.

To be read on dress parade to the troops to-day.

By order of Colonel McGroarty,
Commanding Brigade and Post.
Rudolph Muller, *Lieut. and A. A. A. General.*"

General Greenhut is now an honored citizen of Peoria, Illinois.

General David De Leon was born in South Carolina in 1822. He was the first Surgeon General of the Confederate army. In the Mexican War he twice took the places of commanding officers who had been killed or disabled by wounds. He acted with such gallantry and ability as to twice receive the thanks of the United States Congress. In February, 1861, he resigned his rank as Surgeon and Major in the United States army and was appointed Surgeon General of the armies of the Confederacy.

Lieutenant Colonel Leopold C. Newman was mustered in service as Captain of Company B, 31st New York Volunteers. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His term of service expiring a few days prior to the battle of Chancellorsville, he expressed the desire to remain at the front, and during that terrible struggle his foot was shattered by a cannon-ball; he was taken to Washington, where he died shortly after. President Lincoln called upon him, bringing his promotion to the rank of Brigadier General.

During the draft riots at New York City General William Mayer did heroic service, for which he received an autograph letter from President Lincoln, thanking him for the eminent services to our country during those days of darkness, doubt and gloom. General Mayer is living in New York City, the editor of leading German newspapers.

Captain Ullman, of Company E, 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, was noted for his bravery. He served throughout the Civil War: he was also engaged in the war with the Sioux Indians in 1876, and was one of those in the command of General Custer on that fatal day in June when the entire command was surrounded by the Indians and slaughtered.

William Durst, of the "Monitor," is one of the few survivors of that memorable fight between the Monitor and

the Merrimack. Admiral Worden once said to the writer that Durst was not only a brave, fearless and patriotic man, but eminently worthy to be recognized by some action on the part of Congress.

Brevet Major General Frederick Knefler, 79th Indiana Regiment, attained the highest rank of any American Hebrew soldier. He enlisted as a private in the 29th Indiana Volunteers and rose step by step until he was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment; subsequently he was Brigadier General, and then was made Brevet Major General for meritorious conduct at Chickamauga. He participated in the principal battles of the Army of the Cumberland under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Sherman and Grant, and took part in the engagements under Sherman in the march to the sea. General Knefler has the reputation of having been one of the most gallant of soldiers.

Major Alexander Wetzel, Company B, 26th Wisconsin Infantry, enlisted as a private in the 20th Wisconsin Volunteers; was promoted to Corporal, Sergeant, and to Major for bravery at Chancellorsville. He was mortally wounded at Gettysburg.

Captain Daniel Mayer, of the 5th West Virginia Infantry, received the following complimentary communication:

"State of West Virginia, Adjutant General's Office,
Wheeling, *May* 30, 1866.

Doctor Daniel Mayer, Charleston, West Va.

Sir: I am directed by his Excellency, the Governor, to present to you the enclosed medal, in accordance with a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of West Virginia, adopted February 1, 1866, as a slight testimonial of the high appreciation by the State of your devotion, patriotism and services in suppressing the late rebellion.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. H. Duval, *Adjutant General.*"

Charles Hayman fought in the 4th Georgia Infantry, Company D. General Phil. Cook introduced comrade Charles Hayman to General Gordon at the reunion of the old brigade, with the words, "General, this was one of the bravest in my brigade."

Lieutenant Albert Luria Moses, at the age of 19, enlisted in a North Carolina regiment. He was soon appointed Lieutenant. He was killed at the battle of Seven Pines, in June, 1862, while rallying his company, having seized the colors falling from the hands of the dying color-bearer. An incident of this brave officer is worth recording. At the engagement of Sewell's Point, in May, 1861, an eight-inch shell, with fuse still burning, fell into the company's gun-pit, and young Albert, without a moment's hesitation, seized it in his arms and put it in a tub of water, quenched the fuse and thus saved his own and his comrades' lives. The company, in recognition of his heroism, had the shell engraved with the history of the incident, and adding the words, "The pride of his regiment, the bravest of the brave," sent it to his parents. It now stands upon a pillar over his grave at the "Esquiline," near Columbus, Ga., as a fitting monument.

Lieutenant Henry Seeligson, of Galveston, Texas, was appointed 1st Lieutenant of the Galveston Cadets when the Mexican invasion of Galveston was threatened. In the Mexican War of 1846 he enlisted in Captain McLean's company, and subsequently volunteered in Captain Bell's regiment, then under orders to join the command of General Taylor, en route for Monterey. Seeligson bore so conspicuous a part in the battle that he was sent for by General Taylor and highly complimented, being offered a lieutenancy in the 2d Dragoons.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate army, joining the cavalry company commanded by Captain Woodward.

Doctor Marx E. Cohen, Jr., of Charleston, S. C., was one of the heroes of the Civil War. He enlisted at the age of twenty-one. Towards the close of the last battle of the war, at Bentonville, N. C., some shells containing explosive material were thrown into the Confederate lines from the guns of the Union forces. The captain of Hart's Battery called for volunteers to hurl them aside before they should burst and cause destruction to the command. Three men volunteered to undertake so dangerous a task, Dr. Cohen being one of the three. He and his companions were successful, but while returning to their own lines all three were shot dead by Federal bullets.

General Leopold Blumenberg fought in the 5th Maryland Infantry. After the attack on Fort Sumter he helped to organize the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers, of which he was appointed Major. He served near Hampton Roads, after which he was attached to Mansfield's Corps and participated in the Peninsular campaign, and subsequently in Maryland, where his regiment was engaged in the battle of Antietam, under his command as "Colonel." Here he was shot in the thigh and confined to his bed for many months. Being disabled for further military duty, President Lincoln appointed him Provost Marshal of the 3d Maryland District. President Johnson subsequently promoted him to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General U. S. Volunteers.

It may not prove inappropriate to mention here the remarks made by Wm. P. Wood, Esq., one of Washington's best known citizens, with reference to the late General Blumenberg, in a communication to the writer:

"I was intimate with General Leopold Blumenberg, who commanded in person the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers. You and others of his friends are familiar with the deserved encomiums passed upon that gallant and kind-hearted American Jew, who received the terrible wound in leading his regiment on the battlefield of Antietam, and of

which wound he died after having served in several important positions in Baltimore.

Yours truly,

(Signed) WILLIAM P. WOOD."

The following is a table, by States, of the Jewish soldiers who served in the Civil War:

States.	Soldiers.	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
Alabama	132	9	12	2	..
Arkansas	53	..	1	..	..
United States Army	135	2	4	1	..
Confederate States Army	9	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	17	..	..	..	..
California	28	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia	3	..	..	..	..
Georgia	137	11	15	4	..
Iowa	12	1	1	..	..
Indiana	512	7	12	2	..
Illinois	1076	43	56	..	..
Kansas	9	3	1	..	..
Kentucky	22	2	..	..	..
Louisiana	224	10	21	5	..
Maryland	7	2	..	..	..
Missouri	239	7	7	..	..
Massachusetts	17	2	..	..	..
Michigan	210	..	22	..	..
Mississippi	156	5	12	1	..
Maine	1	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	52	4	3	8	2
New Jersey	18	..	1	1	..
New Mexico	2	..	1	..	..
New York	1882	26	29	8	..
United States Navy	76	2	2	..	..

States.	Soldiers.	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
Confederate States Navy	11	..	..	..	..
Nevada	3	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	2	1	..	..	..
Ohio	1134	16	52	..	..
Pennsylvania	528	54	19	11	..
Rhode Island	4	..	..	..	..
Revolutionary War	40	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	117	20	29	5	..
United States Staff	16	..	..	..	..
Confederate States Staff.	14	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	38	3	7	1	1
Texas	104	15	13	2	..
Vermont	1	..	..	..	..
Virginia	113	15	12	2	..
West Virginia	7	1	..	..	..
Wisconsin	20	3	4	..	..
Washington Territory	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming Territory	1	..	..	..	..

Soldiers	7243
Wounded	316
Killed	336
Captured	53
Died in prison	17

To this are added brief sketches of a few Hebrews who served in the earlier wars of the United States:

Major Lewis Bush became 1st Lieutenant of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion in January, 1776, and Captain the following June. He was transferred to Colonel Thomas Hartley's additional Continental regiment January, 1777, and was commissioned Major in March, 1777. That he

proved a brave soldier his active part in a number of battles affords complete evidence. At the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, he received wounds of so serious a character as to prove fatal a few days after.

Major Alfred Mordecai was one of the recognized authorities in the military world in the field of scientific research and in practical application of mechanical deduction to war purposes. He served in the Mexican War, and was sent by our Government to witness and report upon the operations in the Crimea. Major Mordecai was the author of "Experiments on Gunpowder" and other works.

Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, one of the best known American naval officers of former days, was at the time of his death the highest ranking officer in the United States Navy. He served in the war of 1812, being the master of the brig of war Argus, which ran the blockade to France, with Mr. Crawford, the American minister to that country, on board. The Argus destroyed twenty-one British merchantmen. In recognition of his valuable services to the nation the Common Council of New York City honored him with the freedom of the city. Commodore Levy vigorously opposed the application of the lash to seamen. Upon his tombstone at Cypress Hill is recorded the fact that he was "The father of the law for the abolition of the barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the Navy of the United States."

POINTS IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF NEW YORK JEWISH HISTORY.

By Albion Morris Dyer,
Member of the New York Historical Society.

It is not the purpose of this brief paper to present anew the whole story of the beginnings of the Jewish people from the day of their first entrance into the commercial and religious life of the American metropolis. The time is not yet ripe for such a work, and the task is beyond the ability and inclination of the present writer. Too much still remains to be done in the way of original research to justify the reduction of the known facts to completed form. The gaps between events are too wide and too frequent. Too much must be left to conjecture. Perhaps the future still has its revelations in store, of events connected with the social, commercial and ecclesiastical conditions in the city of New York during the first century of its settlement, and it will be well to await these revelations before calling the First Chapter of American Jewish History finished. The present purpose is merely to bring forward three isolated facts that have come under the writer's observation in the course of prolonged and diligent search among the records and documents for material relating to the early churches of New York. These facts seem to be important, as they correct some generally accepted statements respecting the beginnings of Jewish life and Jewish institutions in New York. They are also interesting, as they bear upon the story of the development of the ecclesiastical life of the Dutch city of New Amsterdam and the English city that sprang therefrom. It will be attempted only to point out the facts, giving nothing more in the way of historical setting than is deemed necessary to make clear their relations to other events.

Antiquarians of the future centuries searching for the sites and circumstances of the earliest churches of New York are bound to be confused by the contemporary writings which have been published in books and public prints on this subject. No two statements agree as to the exact dates and locations of the first Dutch Calvinist church, the first Lutheran church, the first Quaker meeting-house and the first Jewish synagogue. The first church edifice occupied by the Dutch, built in 1626, was the scene two years later of an authorized, orderly, stated, ceremonious organization of certain members of a body of Reformed worshippers into a formal and separate church-estate, conducted by a qualified and accredited delegate, and as such may well rank as the first church of the Reformed Protestant faith and order planted on North American soil. Religious life began of course some years earlier at Jamestown, at New Amsterdam and at New Plymouth, but there seems to have been no separation of worshippers from the congregation at either place into a distinct church-estate until after this church on Manhattan Island was built. The first synagogue on Manhattan Island was the seat of the earliest Jewish congregation on North American soil. The present representatives of these two bodies are carrying on still in many directions their works of usefulness in New York. Both have conserved their wealth and energies to a remarkable degree. One is the mother of a great denomination of Christians, the other stands as the first in wealth and influence of Jewish congregations in America. But neither can tell aught of her birthplace, neither can trace the first years of her infancy. There is hope, of course there is always hope, that something will turn up, some document will come to light that will make clear these uncertain years. It may yet appear where in the city of New York stood the grist-mill of 1626 in which the first Protestant church of America was organized, and where stood the seat, fifty years later, of the first Jewish congregation of America. It is probable, when the truth is known,

that these two events will be found to be associated with one and the same spot.

As has been written time and again, the first Jews to appear at New Amsterdam came in the year 1654. The earliest known public record of their presence there is the entry of the hearing before the Dutch Governor and Council, of a suit for the recovery of passage money for a company of Brazilian refugees brought by the master of the bark St. Catarina, who carried them from St. Antonio in September of that year. The full story of the misfortunes of these penniless Jews in the strange and unfriendly city has been well worked out by ready writers. But these were not the first arrivals at New Amsterdam. Jews were there before them. There were rich Jews in the city, merchants and traders, working under quasi-agreements with the directors of the West India Company, by which they were to exercise their commercial rights without molestation from the local merchants and traders. They came from Holland in the summer of 1654, and they were followed by other Holland Jews on the same errand. The Dutch domine, the Reverend Johannus Megapolensis, in a letter written at New Amsterdam, dated March 18, 1655, and now in the archives of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, says: "Jews came from Holland last summer to trade, later a few came upon the same ship with Domine Polheymius.* They were poor and healthy, and it would have been seemly that they should have been supported by their own people, but they have been at our charge, so that we—the church—have had to spend several hundred guilders for their support. They came several times to my house weeping and bemoaning their misery, and when I directed them to the Jewish merchants, they said that these would not lend them a few stivers. Some more have come from Holland this spring, reporting

* Polyhemius came from Ilamarca, Brazil, in 1654, where he had served as minister. See O'Callegan's *History of New Netherland*, vol. II, p. 272.

that still more of this lot would follow and then build here a synagogue. This causes among the congregation here a great deal of grumbling and murmuring. As these people have no other god but the unrighteous mammon, and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property and to ruin all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves, therefore we request your Reverences [the Classis of Amsterdam] to obtain an order from the Lords Directors [of the West India Company] that these godless rascals, who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their profit, may be sent away from here."* From this letter it appears that the penniless Jews who came from South America in September, and who are supposed to have been the first comers of the race, found other Jews here before them. These earlier Jews were well-to-do merchants from Holland. They were the first of a company of Holland Jews who were to follow and then build a synagogue. It could not have been the penniless refugees, who required alms from the Calvinist church to the extent of several hundred guilders, whom the Domine feared were to build a synagogue.

The failure of these efforts to suppress the activity of the Jewish merchants is well known. The directors of the West India Company resisted the pleadings of the New Amsterdam Domine, of the New Netherland Governor and of the Classis of Amsterdam. An order of toleration of the Jews came, bearing date April 26, 1655, from the directors of the company. Although this order referred entirely to commercial matters, it deserves a place in the annals of the city, with the succeeding order from the same source directing the toleration of the Lutheran inhabitants in the exercise of their faith. Possibly the presence of the Jews in the city at the time of the Lutheran schism had something to

*This and other references to the Amsterdam Correspondence were furnished by Mr. B. Fernow, late New York State Archivist, translator of the letters for use in the preparation of a history of New York churches.—A. M. D.

do with the persistence of the Dutch domines and of the Governor in their efforts to keep out all other religions than the Reformed. The fear of the establishment of a synagogue may have been as dreadful to these zealous Calvinists as the fear that the Lutherans would set up an Augsburg church in a city consecrated to the church of Holland. It is to the glory of the West India Company directors that they withstood the pressure of the intolerant in that age of intolerance. Whatever their motives may have been, it is to their credit that they adopted the wise and enlightened policy which gave to the Jews the right to live, and to the Lutherans the right to worship in the New World. In this connection it is interesting to note that the first Lutheran church edifice, built in 1671, "outside the city gate because ground was cheap there" (near the intersection of Broadway and Pine street), was paid for by money borrowed from the Jews. Christian Peters, one of the Lutheran congregation, became surety to Asser Levy for the loan.*

No doubt the Jewish merchants set up some formal worship immediately after their arrival at New Amsterdam. Whatever this was, it must have been confined to their own households, as a public assembly would not have been tolerated. Strictly as Governor Stuyvesant regarded his oath of office to suffer no other religion in the province than the true Reformed doctrine, he made no objection to the quiet and peaceable pursuit of any religion by the individual or the family. His proclamation against the Lutheran conventicles, which came afterward, February 1, 1656/7, guaranteed to the individual and to the family this right of private worship. Even the Quakers, after the first spasm of persecution, into which the Governor was driven by his friend Captain Thomas Willett of Plymouth, were allowed to go their way in peace in the city and through the province. Under this semi-toleration some of the more important forms of Jewish worship were

* A. Gräbner, *Geschichte der Luth. Kirche,* St. Louis, 1891, vol. I, p. 62.

instituted. But the plan to build a synagogue, of which the Megapolensis letter gave warning in 1655, was not realized under the Dutch regimen. A letter written September 25, 1655, outlining to the Governor the political and social status of the Jews in New Netherland as determined by the West India Company directors, contains positive orders on that point. "This does not include," says the letter, "the right of exercising their religious service in a synagogue or assembly; as long as no such request is made [by the Jews themselves] the consideration of this question is premature; when it is brought up, you better refer it to us."*

But it was not long after the Dutch capitulation and the establishment of the indulgent rule of the English that the public worship of the Jews began to be tolerated. Greenleaf, in his history of the New York churches,† gives the year of the origin of the first congregation as 1706. This statement he bases on references in the first minutes of the congregation of Sheareth Isreal, "at which time," says he, "if not before, it is altogether probable that a congregation existed in an orderly manner." On this evidence Greenleaf places the Jews fifth in the list of formally established religious institutions in the city, the order being (Collegiate) Reformed Protestant Dutch, Evangelical Lutheran, Trinity Protestant Episcopal, Society of Friends, Jews. But a much earlier date can now be determined as the year of Jewish religious organization, and Greenleaf's order of establishment must be revised. In the year 1682 a congregation of Jews existed in an orderly manner in New Amsterdam. This date is attested, as will appear, by the highest authority, but there is reason to believe that public services can be traced to a date even earlier than that, to the administration of Governor Colve. It is probable that the Jews had a public meeting-place in 1673, if nothing more than a

*New York Colonial MSS., Albany, vol. XII, p. 36. Letter to Gov. Stuyvesant from Directors W. I. Co., Holland.

†P. 120.

dwelling-house where public assemblages were held. But for the present it is sufficient to fix the date 1682, for this places the Jews ahead of Trinity, and fourth, if not third, in the order of priority among the city churches. Domine Henricus Selyns, writing to his ecclesiastical superiors, the Classis of Amsterdam, soon after his return to the province, in October, 1682, says: "There is here [at New Amsterdam] a Lutheran church and a preacher. . . . Besides these, the Jews, Quakers and Labadists have their separate meetings. Quakers most, Jews less, and Labadists least, are in the habit of coming to my Sunday sermons, both morning and evening, but after that they meet among themselves."* Whether it was a regular custom for the Jews to attend the public service in the chapel in the fort, or whether they went there drawn by the great popularity of Domine Selyns, cannot be said. Selyns is the man who gathered up the scattered records of the Dutch church and reduced them to shape and order. To him the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church Consistory of the city of New York is indebted for most of its knowledge of local church affairs prior to 1699. His testimony of the existence of a Jewish "separate meeting" and of the custom of the Jews attending his own services cannot be disputed.

There are other proofs of the existence of a congregation and a synagogue many years before the date given by Greenleaf. Chaplain John Miller's map of New York in 1695 shows the location of a Jews' synagogue. There is, moreover, on record in the New York County Register's office a deed bearing date October, 1700, which mentions a house commonly known as the Jews' Synagogue.

But what was the location of this building commonly known as the Jews' Synagogue? Chaplain Miller's map

* Letter in possession of the General Synod, Reformed Church in America. Of course the English chaplain began to hold service in the chapel in the fort in 1664, but Trinity Protestant Episcopal church does not claim this as its origin.

places it on the south side of Beaver street, a short distance east of the Whitehall. This is the site generally accepted as the first seat of Jewish worship by writers who came after the discovery of the Miller map. But to them the existence of the record of the deed of October, 1700, seems to have been unknown. If the location as given by Chaplain Miller is correct, the synagogue site is now covered by the Beaver street entrance to the New York Produce Exchange, property both then and now second to none in value on Manhattan Island. The deed of 1700 names a site far to the east of the Produce Exchange, across Broad street, in the old marsh land bordering the Herre Graft, a neighborhood of much lower values. It is possible that both these locations are correct, as the dates of the Miller map and the deed are five years apart, and the synagogue might have been in 1695 in Beaver street near the Bowling Green, and then moved across Broad street to the new section of the city. But it seems to be worth the contention that the Miller map is a mistake and that the synagogue as first planted was in the Dock ward beyond the Tide-ditch. Chaplain Miller's map, it will be remembered, was made up from memory after the maker had suffered capture and imprisonment at the hands of the French. It is not at all unlikely that such a map, otherwise accurate, should have a spot or a letter, marking a site of a public building, misplaced. But it is unlikely that at that early time the Jews could have obtained permission to establish their synagogue on so important a street. It stands, as marked on Miller's map, within a hundred feet of the parade ground before the fort. New street leading up to the Cingle gate at Wall street began in Beaver street directly opposite. Broad street and the Marketvelt (Whitehall), the two important thoroughfares of the city, passed on either side. But why should the synagogue move from Beaver street after the date of the Miller map? Why should the Jews surrender this advantageous situation, if they held it in 1695, to take up with a hired house, across

the swamp, in a meaner part of the city? It is reasonable to say that Chaplain Miller, in fixing the site of the synagogue, suffered a *lapsus memoriæ*, or perhaps a *lapsus calami*, inadvertently placing it in Beaver street *west* of Broad street when it should have been placed *east* of Broad street in Princess (afterwards Beaver) street.

The record of the deed referred to as indicating the location of this early synagogue is for the conveyance by Jacob "Melyen" of Boston, to Katherine Kerfbyl, widow, "a house and lot on the north side of the street, bounded south by Mill street [76.8 feet], west [110.6 ft.], and north [78 ft.], by the house and ground of David Provost, Esq., and Lawrence Van Hook, east [97.4 ft.] by the house and ground of John Harpending, now commonly known by the name of the Jews' Synagogue." This conveyance bears date of October 30, 1700.* The mention of the synagogue as a landmark in a deed of conveyance of property is proof that the situation of the Harpording house and its use by the Jews as a synagogue were matters of common knowledge at that time. "Mill street" was the name applied by the English to a lane laid out by the Dutch in the Dock ward of the city. It was suggested by a horse-power grist-mill which stood at its eastern extremity. It is mentioned in deeds after the year 1664 as "Mill street, formerly Sleyck Strege." This name, signifying Muddy Lane, by which name it was known to the Dutch, betrays its history. In the original allotments of land made by the West India Company no provision was made for such a street. Princess street ran easterly from Broad street toward King street (now William street) in line with Beaver street. It was narrow and crooked, having a heavy jog in its south line about half way between Broad street and Hanover Square. Beaver street, in striking contrast, was broad and straight, affording a fine thoroughfare between Broad street and the Battery. The next street south of Princess street was Duke (now

*See Liber (Conveyances) 23, p. 230, New York Hall of Records.

Stone) street. It circled to the north and east, entering King street at Hanover Square. There was no street between these two streets where South William street now runs until after 1650. The west front on Broad street between Princess and Duke streets was in private hands. Soon a wagon-track began to appear across the property of Adrien Vincent, turning out of Broad street to the east midway between Princess and Duke streets, and leading up to a mill which stood in the rear of a Princess street lot. This wagon-track soon became a well-beaten road used by the Manhattan farmers in carrying their grist to mill. In time it reached the dignity of "Sleyck Strege" or Dirty lane. But it had no outlet. Wagons on reaching the mill were turned in their tracks and brought out again at Broad street where they had entered. This blind alley arrangement served for a time, but increasing traffic at the mill soon caused the purchase of a lot on Stone street, running through to the lane, which was laid out as a part of Mill street. This remnant of the ancient Sleyck Strege is still to be seen unchanged in any of its lines, running between South William and Stone streets in the rear of buildings fronting on Hanover Square.* Mill street, with its angular outlet into Stone street, remained unchanged in name or form until after the great conflagration which swept over that part of the city of New York in the year 1835; then it was widened and extended under the name it now bears, South William street. The house of John Harpording, described in the deed as the Jews' Synagogue, before the beginning of the eighteenth century, stood on the northern side of this narrow road or lane or street.

Whether the mill that gave the lane its name was built there before or after the year of English rule, 1664, has not been learned. No reference to a mill in that locality has been found in the records of grants and deeds of an earlier date

*This short connecting lane is marked on the Miller map as "Ellert's alley." It has been known as Jews Lane, and is now called Mill Lane.

than 1667. At that time Gouvert Lookermans sold to Jacques Couseau a lot on the north side of Mill street on which there was a horse-mill.* Lookermans purchased this lot three years before from the Deaconry of the Dutch Church, but the record of this deed does not mention the horse-mill. In a list of real estate taxed in the year 1677 the holdings on Mill street appear.† The "mill-house," according to this list, is charged to Corston Johnston. The same list shows among owners of property in that block, John Harpording, a vacant lot, and Jacob "Molyno," a house and lot and a vacant lot. The relative positions of the horse-mill and the Harpording and Melyen lots are not to be determined from the tax list. But the deed of October 30, 1700, refers to the same properties, and from this deed it appears that Harpording's lot was on the north side of Mill street and that the Melyen lot joined it on the west. The Harpording lot was 28 feet front, and Melyen's lot it will be remembered was 76.8 feet.

Where then was situated the house of Jacob Melyen and the house of John Harpording, his next-door neighbor, which in the closing years of the seventeenth century was known to all in the city of New York as the Jews' Synagogue? There are traditions in certain families with which the writer has been made acquainted, that, joined with the facts given in the tax-list and the deed, give the solution of this interesting problem. These traditions are that "before the erection of a regular synagogue, prayers were said in a frame building in Mill street, in the first ward, about one hundred feet east of the lot on which the first synagogue was built in 5489—1729." The site of the "first synagogue built in the year 1729" is perfectly well known. It was purchased from Cornelius Clopper, December 19, 1728, being a lot 40 feet front on the north side of Mill street, 40 feet in the rear,

* Liber (Conv.) B, p. 136. Hall of Records.

† MSS. Minutes, New York Common Council, vol. I, p. 101, New York City Hall.

110 feet in length on its western side, adjoining the property of James Alexander, and 93 feet in length on its eastern side.* Its southwestern corner was about 175 feet from the corner of Broad street. Subsequent purchases extended this lot to the east (46 feet) to the line of the ancient warehouse of Peter Goelet, Esq. (Nos. 14 and 16 South William St.), and to the north to the old line of Princess street in the middle of the present Beaver street.

The building first erected on the Cornelius Clopper lot was in size 36x58 feet.† According to traditions in Jewish families it stood close to the Mill street line of the lot, leaving a narrow passage on the western side of the lot to afford access to the entrance door, which was toward Broad street. If the distance, 100 feet, of the traditional frame building where prayers were said before the synagogue was built, is correctly given, the John Harpording house must have been about 300 feet east of the Broad street corner of Mill street, or very near the rear wall of the Delmonico restaurant building at the intersection of Beaver and South William streets. If this calculation is correct, the site of the first Jewish synagogue of North America, and probably of the Western Hemisphere, is at Number 8 South William street. It may be of interest to note that in a house on this site in after years lived the Reverend Louis Rou, whose troublous pastorate of the Huguenot church of New York forms one of the pathetic incidents of that city's history. It should be said also, before leaving this subject, that "John Harpending," who hired his house to the Jews for use as a synagogue, is the famous John Harpording, shoemaker, whose legacy of the "Shoemaker's Pasture" enriched the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the city of New York.

*Liber (Conv.) 31, p. 263. These figures are as given in the deed. They are the approximate measurements, as was seen when accurate surveys of the city were made.

†Greenleaf, *New York Churches*, p. 120.

The synagogue lot, after the last purchase was made, July 3, 1806, was an irregular oblong, 86.4 feet front on the present South William street line, and running through to a narrower front on the present Beaver street line. The second synagogue was built on the site of the "first," at the southwestern corner of the plot near the Mill street front and the Alexander line. It was in the form of an oblong like the original synagogue, but running east and west, while the synagogue of 1729 ran north and south, with an entrance on its western side. Entrance to the new building was at the western end, the door being close to the line of the lot. East of the synagogue on the Mill street front, at the present No. 18 South William street, was the parsonage. North of the synagogue was the woman's building, with a space between the two where the ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles were held. Bridging this space was a closed passageway affording access to the synagogue galleries from the second story of the woman's building. Near the woman's building, and in the rear of the parsonage, was the house occupied by the sexton. Back of this, at No. 42 Beaver street, at the point where the old line of Princess street took a deep jog to the south, was the home of Moses Seixias. The rest of the synagogue plot was an open court or yard through which the people passed and repassed to and from the synagogue. The Mill street front was closed by a high fence which extended beyond the synagogue to the parsonage yard, and the public entrance to the lot was through Beaver street, then much narrower than at present. The present site of the entrance could be found by measuring out into Beaver street, opposite the line between numbers 38 and 40, a distance of fifteen feet. If the exact spot is sought where the synagogue of 1729 stood, it can be found by measuring westerly along the north line of South William street from the southwest corner of the Peter Goelet building, a distance of fifty feet. The old line of Mill street ran out into South William street here three or four feet, so that a stake driven at this point, close to the line of

the buildings at Nos. 22–24 South William street, would stand within the quadrangle formed by the foundations of the synagogue and near its southeast corner.

There seems to have been an impression in the minds of certain writers that "Sleyck Strege" and its English name "Mill street" owed its origin to a tan-bark mill and a stream of fresh water which coursed down the slope of Varlattenberg (at Exchange Place), through the meadows between Beaver and Stone streets, and emptied into the tidal waters of the Herre Graft in the middle of Broad street. This impression has produced some curious statements about the use of this water in connection with the Jewish ceremonies at the synagogue. The basis of these impressions can be traced to some of the earliest works on New York. Moulton's View of the City of New Orange as it appeared in 1673, says:*

"In the rear of the city hall was Slyk Steeg or Mire Lane, and a tannery extended from the north corner of the lane, passing from Coenties Slip to Mire Lane, on which a bark-mill stood. Hence the present Mill Street."

Dunlap's History of New York (1839) connects the origin of the name with a stream:†

"The Jews were scarcely tolerated. Their first church or synagogue was built in Mill Street, a narrow street so called from a stream which fell into the great water in Broad Street. They built here in 1730."

Watson's Olden Time in New York (1846) combines the two ideas of a mill and a stream:‡

"A mill-house is taxed in 'Mill Street Lane.' Thus indicating the fact of a water-course and mill-seat (probably the bark-mill of Ten Eycke) at the head of what is now called 'Mill Street.' Thus verifying what I once heard from the Phillips family, that in early times when the Jews first held

* P. 34.

† Vol. I, p. 484.

‡ P. 157. Watson's reference "two houses above" seems to point to the site of the Harpording house.

their worship there (their synagogue was built there a century ago), they had a living spring, two houses above their present lots, in which they were accustomed to perform their ablutions and cleanings according to the rites of their religion."

Grant Thorburn, Reminiscences of New York (1846), gives this recollection:*

"I knew an old man who had seen a mill whose wheel was turned by a spring near the head of Coenties slip. Mill street took its name from this circumstance."

Such convincing testimony might easily mislead the most careful writer, especially if no attempt was made to get at the origin of Sleyck Strege and its landmarks by a study of the official records in the possession of the city. These, as has been shown, tell a different story. Mill street owes its origin and its name to a horse-mill which was a grist-mill. The buhr-millstones employed in the mill long before its site was required for the uses of the synagogue, are still lying near the spot where they were cast aside when the grist-mill was abandoned. Their ancient origin is well attested, as has been shown in another place by the writer.† For more than a hundred years, according to tradition, these old stones, relics of the ancient Holland grist-mill, were piled up in the synagogue yard, where they served the youths of the congregation and their children and grandchildren for many a game of tag.

But there was no stream at that part of Manhattan Island such as is described in the quotations and in the more modern writings. If there were a stream there large enough to give power to a mill it would have been noted in the deeds of conveyance of property in that neighborhood and in the surveys of the island. No evidence of this character has been found to show that a stream of any kind ever existed

* P. 212.

† First Protestant Church in America. *The Outlook*, New York, April 24, 1894.

in or near Mill street. None of the early deeds relating to Mill street property make mention of a stream as a basis for measurement.* Egbert L. Viele's topographical map of New York (1874) shows the original water lines, water-courses, streams, made lands, marsh lands, meadow lands and hills of Manhattan Island. On this map the line of the old tidal ditch known to the Dutch as "Herre Graft" may be followed along the east side of Broad street across the head of Mill street to Princess street. There it bends easterly, forming an arm running a third of the way to Hanover Square. Around this arm and along the side of the main ditch the Viele map shows marsh land extending far up Mill street almost to Hanover Square. Beyond this is meadow land, and beyond the meadow the gentle slope of Varlattenberg. Tidal waves swept up the Herre Graft and into the arm. Periodically these waves overspread the marsh lands in the neighborhood, coming almost to the spot now covered by Delmonico's building. Was there a stream of water with head enough to turn a mill flowing across this tide-water marsh? If so, it is given no place on the Viele map.

The "tan-bark" mill mentioned by Moulton and Watson was in another part of the city. No mill of any kind, except the horse-mill of Gouvert Lookermans, 1667, and the

* Wishing to learn if there is such mention in the old records of conveyances the writer applied to Wm. S. Pelletreau, a searcher of old landmarks and street lines, who has patiently read page by page the first 300 libers in the Hall of Records, and received the following in reply:

"In the course of my investigations in regard to the history of the old streets of New York I have had occasion to refer to and examine carefully all of the old deeds covering all the land and lots on both sides of what was originally 'Slyck Steege,' afterward Mill street. In none of these is there any allusion to any stream of water. I do not believe that any documentary evidence can be produced to show the existence of any stream in that vicinity.

Yours truly,

Dec. 15, 1894. WM. S. PELLETREAU."

mill-house of Corston Johnston, 1677, which seem to be one and the same institution, is mentioned in any of the records relating to Mill street. The list of taxable property above referred to, bearing date August 27, 1677, furnishes proof of the location of the tan-bark mill. This list gives the improved and vacant property of the city, arranged under separate heads according to the streets on which it is located. If there were a bark-mill in Mill street in 1677, it would appear with the name of its owner on this list.* No such item is there. But in another part of the list, under the head "The Herre Graft and ye Bever graft and Markeft," the "bark-mill corner" appears.† The books of conveyances in the New York Hall of Records show clearly where on Broad street was situated this "bark-mill corner" mentioned in the tax list of 1677. A deed is recorded‡ bearing date August 14, 1680, three years subsequent to the date of the tax list, conveying "a house and lot in the street there called the Broad Street, bounded on the north and east by the

*As the Mill street holdings are especially interesting in connection with the site of the synagogue, they are given here verbatim as copied from the minute book (page 101).

Houses.	Mill Street Lane.	
1	Henry Vandusbury,	4 s.
1	John Hendric Van Bommell,	6
1	Jacob Molyno,	7
1	Hans Gooderies,	6
1	Corston Johnston,	4
	ditto mill-house,	4
	Vacant Places.	
John Harpording, 28 foot front, 50 foot long,		4
Bays Crodwolt, 23 foot front, 100 foot long,		4
Jacob Molyno, 46 foot front, 100 foot long,		6

†"Herre Graft" was Broad street, "Bever Graft" was Beaver street between Broadway and Broad street, and "Markeft" (Market field) was the open way along the eastern curtain of the fort, now called Whitehall. Marketfield St. of a later date, formerly Pettycoat lane, where stood the Huguenot Church, is given in this tax list as "Field Street."

‡Liber 12, p. 30.

Shoemaker's Tan or bark mill, south by the Cross street that runs up into the Broadway." This same lot, five years earlier than the date of the tax list, October 20, 1672, was sold to William Lawrence by Hendrick Kip, and is then described in the deed of conveyance as "bounded east by the shoemaker's bark mill." The Kip lot was part of a plot granted by Governor Kieft, July 13, 1643, to Cornelius Volkertsen, on the northeast side of the "Common Highway" (Broadway), and running northeasterly a distance of 18 rods "to a marsh." The Volkertsen plot was cut up into lots fronting on Broadway and running back to the marsh, and sold in April, 1655. One of these lots was used as a street known then as Cross Street and now as Exchange Place. The Kip lot lies next northwest of Exchange Place. As described in the deed, its northeasterly boundary was the shoemaker's bark-mill. From this description it is an easy matter to locate the bark-mill of 1672. New Street was not then opened. Broad Street was not extended so far up into the salt marsh. The "marsh" in the rear of the Broadway grants of 1643 was a waste tract of low land, partly flooded by the high tides that came up the Heere Graft, and extending in a wide strip midway between Broadway and William street to the foot of the hill south of Wall street. This salt marsh and its borders was common ground for many years. It was common ground in 1692, when the common council granted a part of it as a site for the Dutch church. The tan-bark mill and tanyards were located on this common land at the head of the marsh. Measuring three hundred feet along the north line of Exchange Place from the corner of Broadway to the northeastern boundary of the Kip lot, the tape will reach to the western line of the Broad-street plaza. Beyond this line to the east and to the north stood the bark-mill described in the deeds mentioned as the Shoemaker's Tan or Bark Mill. This was certainly the mill taxed in 1677 as part of the property on the Heere Graft. It seems also to be the mill referred to by Dunlap and

by Watson. Its site was probably on the slope below Wall street in the Broad street before the mill's building, a spot too far from Sleyck Strege to be connected in any way with its change of name to Mill lane.*

It is possible that this old grist-mill of Gouvert Lookermans which marked the site of the Jews' synagogue in 1667 and whose relics are still to be seen where they were cast aside two centuries ago, is the very horse-mill built under the administration of Peter Minuit in 1626.† In the loft of this horse-mill, the Reverend Jonas Michaelius organized the long-existing congregation of French and Dutch worshippers into a church. No record of any other horse-mill in any other part of the city has been found. If this was not the mill of Peter Minuit's time, what became of it? Did it wear out and disappear between the years 1626 and 1667? And where are the traces of the mill in the deeds and records? Is it not more likely that the mill continued in use, and that it was the same mill sold by Gouvert Lookermans in 1667? Is it probable that a second horse-mill, a crude and primitive contrivance for grinding grain, would be needed in the rich and substantial city of New York? Certainly such a mill would not be constructed to compete with wind-mills, and wind-mills were in operation in New Amsterdam as early as 1642.

Briefly stated, the suggestions in this paper are:

1. The first Jews to settle in New Amsterdam were well-to-do Holland merchants, who came authorized to engage in trade in the Dutch possessions along the North and South rivers. They came before the Jewish refugees from Brazil, who are generally supposed to have been the first of the race in New Netherland.

2. The first Jewish congregation may be dated from 1682, and not 1706, the earliest authentic date heretofore fixed.

3. This organization ranks as third (or fourth) in the order

* See Albany Records, MSS. GG, p. 83.

† Holland Documents, vol. I, p. 42.

of priority in the city's religious institutions, the order being Dutch and French Calvinists, 1628; Evangelical Dutch Lutherans, 1657; Society of Friends, 1672 or 1696; Jews, 1673 or 1682; Protestant Episcopalian, 1697.

4. The first synagogue in North America was situated on the lot now known as No. 8 South William street in the city of New York.

AN EARLY OWNERSHIP OF REAL ESTATE IN ALBANY, NEW YORK, BY A JEWISH TRADER.

Also Some References to Litigations Affecting His Estate.

By Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, *Albany, N. Y.*

In the *Collections on the History of Albany*, published by Joel Munsell,* upon one of the diagrams of lots of land at Beverwyck (near Fort Orange, both early names of Albany), in 1661 there appears as the owner of a lot one Asser Leevi; in the explanatory memorandum is found the following: "This southerly half lot, Marcellus Janse conveyed to Asser Leevi, a Jewish merchant in 1661, and in 1662 Asser Leevi to Robert Sanders."

The records of these days were kept in Dutch, and have been translated by Professor Jonathan Pearson of Union College, Schenectady. His translations are used in Munsell's *Collections*, and the preface to this part of the work contains the following interesting observation:

"All these are original papers bearing the autograph signatures of the parties concerned, such being the custom of the Dutch, whose statutes were based on the civil or Roman law. The earliest registers were simply quires stitched together, which at a later date were gathered up by some one ignorant of the language, and bound and labeled regardless of the date or subjects."

Interested by this information as to the title of real estate held by a Jew at so early a period, which is to-day among the most valuable in the best business portion of the city of

* Vol. IV, Albany, 1871.

Albany, the original documents in the county clerk's office were examined with the view of observing the signature of this trader. I found both the instruments of purchase and sale written in Dutch, and while the signatures of the other parties were in the characters of that language, those of "Asser Leevi" were plainly and in each instrument similarly written in Latin or English letters. The instruments themselves are of interest; Professor Pearson says of these documents in general:

"If they have no other value to the legal profession, the informal methods of conveying and pledging real and personal property afford an interesting view of the simplicity of the times."

The interesting nature of the facts disclosed by the documents, so far as this society is concerned, is perhaps to be found as the result of some other suggestions made by the translator and compiler. He states that "the little hamlet of Beverwyck for fifty years or more was mainly a trading station, the resort of adventurers from New Amsterdam and Fatherland, particularly at the business season (June, July and August). For convenience and to obtain the burgher's rights in trade, they purchased houses and lots. The trading community was changeable, some departing and others arriving to take their places. After the conquest by the English in 1664, many of the transient population retired, and immigration from Holland soon ceased."

There was, as is known, at the outset, objection made in the colony to the acquisition by Jews of burgher's rights, and to their becoming the owners of real estate, or to trading at Fort Orange, so that the transfer of title to Leevi must have been among the earliest of such occurrences.

Similar objections to trading by others existed. An ordinance was passed in 1657, reciting that complaints had been made against trading by the Scotch "even to the best trading places and taking, as it were, the bread out of the mouths of the Burghers and resident Inhabitants"; this ordinance pro-

vided that the Scotch and traders who came over must apply for the common or small burgher-right and pay therefor.*

So in matters denominational or religious, narrow and proscriptive rules prevailed. Although English settlers, either of the Presbyterian or Congregational order, were granted freedom of conscience and had their churches, yet the right of public worship was denied to all other denominations, excepting Lutherans, who after some struggle were allowed a minister. Catholics, Baptists, Quakers and Jews were alike ostracized, for none other than those of the Reformed religion, or persons at least well affected toward it, were admissible to office. By the laws of Holland, marriages between Protestants and Catholics or between Christians and Jews were subject to grievous penalties, Jews having no privileges excepting those of burgher-right and trade. The right of citizenship was restricted, as a general principle, to native-born subjects; by special charter the English settlers on Long Island, and in 1673 in what is now known as New Jersey, were granted "all and singular the immunities and privileges granted to the Inhabitants of the Province, as if they were natives of the United Belgic Provinces."†

The agreement of purchase and sale is as follows:

AGREEMENT OF SALE TO ASSER LEEVI.

"Conditions on which Marcellus Janssen (Van Bommel) is minded to sell at public sale to the highest bidder, his house and lot as it is at present occupied by the seller with all that is fast by earth and nailed. Firstly, the aforesaid house shall be delivered to the buyer with the lot as it is at present occupied by him and stands in fence according to the patent thereof. The delivery of the aforesaid house and lot shall be made on the first of May, A. D. 1662, with a conveyance of the same. Payment shall be made in good

* *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland* (O'Callaghan), pp. 298–301.

† *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. vi–vii.

whole merchantable beaver skins in three installments, the first on the first of June, A. D. 1662, the second, one year after date on the first of June, A. D. 1663, and third, one year after the second installment, being on the first of June, A. D. 1664. With the last payment the patent shall be delivered. The buyer shall be holden to furnish two sufficient sureties one for all and each as principals, immediately to the consent of the seller. If the buyer cannot furnish said sureties then the aforesaid house and lot shall be offered again for sale, and whatever less it comes to be worth he shall be holden to make good and what more it becomes worth he shall derive no profit therefrom. The auction fees become a charge to the buyer. On the above standing conditions Asser Leevi remained the last bidder for the sum of one thousand seven hundred and nine guilders, for which the honorable Johan Verbeeck and Jochim Wesselse (Backer) offered themselves as sureties and principals for the payment of the aforesaid sum, or pledge of their persons and estates, personal or real, present and future.

Done in Fort Orange this 15th of July, 1661.

ASSER LEEVI,
JOHN VERBEECK,
JOCHEM BACKER.

Acknowledged before me,

LA MONTAGNE, *Clerk at Fort Orange.*"

A grant of this land was made to Asser Leevi pursuant to this agreement. The grantor, whose full name was Marcellus Janse (or Janssen) Van Bommel, in signing even so formal an instrument, omitted the latter part of his name, signing it Marcellus Janssen. With regard to this practice, Professor Pearson says, "the majority of the first settlers used no surname; some evidently had none." It is also a fact that carelessness as to the use of names in these old records often causes embarrassment in the identification of persons.

In a note to the translation of the deed to Leevi the translator adds: "Asser Leevi was a Jewish trader, residing

chiefly in New Amsterdam. He was in the colony as late as 1684." From other papers in existence it seems, however, that he died before 1684.

The fact that Leevi engaged in trade at Fort Orange at this time, and probably pursuant to the rights acquired by reason of his purchase of real estate, is evidenced by another document.* Under date of April 1, 1661, an instrument is found whereby Sophia Van Wyckersloot (and her husband, Anthony Toinel) declares that she has sold to Asser Leevi, "all the goods and merchandise which she is expecting out of Patria by the ship Beaver, consigned to her by her father, for which the aforesaid Asser Leevi is holden to pay seventy-five per cent advance on their cost in Holland, besides also the freight of the aforesaid goods to the skipper."

The fact that Leevi conveyed the property in 1662 bears out the inference that the real estate was purchased for the purpose of acquiring the right to trade. The following is a copy of the grant by him:

DEED BY ASSER LEEVI.

"On this 7th day of September, A. D. 1662, appeared before me Johannes Provoost, clerk, etc., Mr. Asser Leevi, merchant at Amsterdam in New Netherland, of the first part, and Robert Sanders, of the second part, who declares, in the presence of the after-named witnesses, that they, in all friendship and amity, have contracted and agreed with each other in regard to the following purchase, namely that the aforesaid Asser Leevi to said Robert Sanderson has sold a house and lot lying in the Village of Beverwyck on the hill, the same that he, the seller, bought of Marcelys Janse at public sale, as it stands and lies in fence, with all that is fast by earth and nailed, together with a little house also on the side of the great house, which the seller has built since his purchase; in magnitude according to the patent thereof; so

*Although there is proof that he was engaged in trading there as early as 1660, see *infra*.

likewise the said Robert Sanderson acknowledges that he has bought the same, and promises to pay therefor the sum of one thousand nine hundred and twenty guilders, payable in good whole merchantable beaver skins at guilders apiece, besides three beavers also for a hat for the seller; it was also stipulated that as the aforesaid house is leased for the term of two years, so the buyer is holden to buy out and pay the lessees according to contract; delivery shall be made on the 1st day of May, A. D. 1663; the payments shall be made in five installments; the first on the first of July, 1663, which shall be the number of fifty beavers, and the following payments from year to year, every time a just fifth part; further, the aforesaid house and lot is to remain as a special pledge for the purpose of a complete payment, the buyer also pledging his person and estate, real and personal, present and future, nothing excepted, and putting himself in subjection to all laws and judges.

Thus done in the Village of Beverwyck, in the presence of the honorable Frans Barentse Pastoor and Jacob Tyssen Van Der Heyden, as witnesses hereto invited on the date above.

Asser Leevi,
Frans Barentse Pastoor, Robert Sanderse.
Jacob Teyssen.

Acknowledged before me,
Johannes Provoòst, *Clerk.*"

The instrument dated 1660, above referred to, shows that as early as that date Levy was engaged in trading at Fort Orange; the curious fact disclosed by this document is that touching a suffix to his name—it will be observed that in it his name is set down as Asser Levy Van Swellem.

It is as follows:

A MORTGAGE TO HIM IN 1660.

"Appeared before me Johannes La Montagne, clerk of Fort Orange and Village of Beverwyck, in the presence of Frans Barentse Pastoor and Jan Verbeeck, commissaries

of the same jurisdiction, Jan Michielson, who declared that he is well, truly and honestly indebted to Mr. Asser Levy Van Swellem in the sum of 184 guilders in good merchantable beavers, for goods to his content received, and promises said sum of 184 guilders in beavers to pay in the coming spring, 1661, about June, for which aforesaid sum the said Jan Michielson mortgages and specially pledges his house and lot lying in the Village of Beverwyck, and at present occupied by him, for the payment of said sum, for which he pledges his person and estate, real and personal, present and future, submitting the same to all laws and judges.

Done in Fort Orange the 28th of July, A. D. 1660.

FRANS BARENTSE PASTOOR, JAN MYCHGYELSEN.
JAN VERBEECK.

Acknowledged before me,
LA MONTAGNE, *Clerk at Fort Orange.*"

An examination of several other instruments in the old records containing his name, not herein referred to, as unimportant, shows that in this paper alone is Van Swellem given as his surname.

Some of the data and documents above given have been known to persons interested in the work of this society.

Mr. Max J. Kohler, in his notes to Judge Daly's History of the Jews of North America, says that Jews seemed to have availed themselves of permission to trade at Fort Orange at a very early date. This is evidenced by references to Asser Leevi engaging in purchase of merchandise and real estate in Albany in 1661. See early records of the city and county of Albany by J. Pearson.*

Mr. Markens, in his work,† also mentions Asser Leevi, and Mr. George A. Kohut has published several articles relating to matters connected with Asser Leevi.‡

* Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America* (Kohler), note, p. 22.

† *Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, pp. 8, 9.

‡ *American Hebrew*, March 31 and May 19, 1893.

Further casual research has disclosed other interesting documents relating to Asser Levy, and papers relating to litigations arising out of his estate.*

Among the papers in the office of the clerk of the Court of Appeals, at Albany, which is the depository of the records of the old Court of Chancery, there are a number of documents relating to the estate of Asser Levy; they all have the appearance of great age, some of them being imperfectly preserved; they are apparently drafts or copies of pleadings. They are unsigned and unverified, but they bear on the question of the litigations over his estate. One of them is apparently a form of a bill in chancery by David Levy and Miriam his wife against Simon Valentine, in which David Levy asserts that Asser Levy died in 1680, and that he married the widow, the co-plaintiff, and that Simon Valentine, the pretended heir of Asser Levy, under an Act of the General Assembly, claimed to be entitled to the lands of said Asser Levy.† The action was to restrain Valentine from proceeding, as there were debts to which the estate should be subjected.

This bill of complaint avers that the estate of Asser Levy had been inventoried and appraised at 553 pounds, 16 shillings, of which some 360 pounds is for houses and lands situate within New York City.‡ The inventory contains an interesting list of personal property, including those for domestic purposes, and wearing apparel of a family in good circumstances. As to some extent illustrative of the conditions and comforts of a household, and bearing somewhat on the condition of the Jews of the times—as it may be assumed

*Mr. Kohler has also examined some of these, and is in possession of many facts relating to this interesting topic.

†An examination of the laws of the First General Assembly, held in 1683, fails to disclose any special enactment on the subject, and the claim must have been under one of the general acts passed relating to titles to real estate.

‡Through the courtesy of Mr. Max J. Kohler, I have been furnished with a copy of this inventory, made February 9, 1682.

that it was in a measure representative—some reference to its detail may be justifiable.

The implements and utensils are generally of brass, pewter and iron; a barrel of flour is appraised at two pounds and ten shillings; there are two looking-glasses, nine pictures and one Sabbath lamp; there also appears in the list two pistols and holsters, a gun, one sword, silver belt, one sword with belt, also one great long table-cloth, thirteen table-cloths, one ditto with lace, 24 napkins, silver appraised at about fifty pounds, consisting generally of spoons, goblets, a tankard, a spice box, small cups, girdle with hanging keys, silver to a belt for a sword, hat band, watch and buckles, also 14 gold rings, a "parcel of old books, also a negro boy valued at 20 pounds."

Another similar paper appears to be the form of a bill of complaint of Ansell Samuel Levy against Simon Valentine; this Levy singularly enough, if it be another (although it is fair to assume that it is the same Levy), alleging that he married Miriam the relict of Asser Leevi and "being in possibility of enjoying good name (?) and a comfortable livelihood by said marriage"; upon the promises of said Valentine "to supply him with a greater sum of money than any benefit your orator could have by such marriage," was induced to sign a bond to Valentine in the penal sum of 1000 pounds, that he would stand to abide by the award of Robinson and Richard in arbitration which was only "to end a difference betwixt the old woman, your orator's wife and said Simon Valentine," that "your orator having no knowledge of the English language believed that the signing of the bond would do him no injury, but that for signing he should have 150 pounds, and be in better condition than by living with the old woman, your orator's wife." The paper also avers that Levy still remains in the common gaol by and through the want of knowledge of the English language, and also for the want of lawyers, counsel and attorneys. The pleading asks an injunction restraining Valentine from further prosecuting the bond,

and that the matters concerning the same may be determined in the Court of Equity.

A further paper appears to be the form or draft of an answer of Symon Valentine to the bill of complaint of Ansel Samuel Levy. It avers that the scope of plaintiff's bill is to be relieved against a judgment obtained by this defendant on demurrer to the last court of Oyer and Terminer holden for the city and county of New York. It avers that he is willing to accept an offer made in the bill, viz. that said Levy offers to deliver up the estate into the hands of said Symon Valentine, upon certain conditions named, which conditions he is willing to adopt and embrace.

All of these papers are manifestly either sketches, or imperfect copies of papers. They are undated, excepting at the end of one is the name of J. S. Swinton, and the words "Filed 24th March, 1684."

There is a still further paper on this subject, which possibly is the document referred to in the answer of Valentine above alluded to. It is a brief petition of Ansell Samuel Levy, asserting that he is a prisoner, under a judgment of the court of Oyer and Terminer against him to the benefit of Simon Balantine Van Derwilden about the non-performance of an award concerning the estate of Asser Levy, deceased, by which means this petitioner is in a deplorable condition, not able to follow his trade or to maintain himself and wife; he avers that he is willing and hath been willing and ready at all times, as much as is in his power, on his part to perform the said award and to abide thereby, and therefore craves a hearing in equity and for relief out of imprisonment.

This document is signed in Hebrew characters "Aenshle bar shmuel segal ha-leeve." It is dated November 28th, 1685.

The discrepancies in the names are apparent, although perhaps not unusual. The David Levy mentioned in the papers and "Answell" Samuel Levy must be identical—as it is the petition of the husband of the widow of Asser Levy, who is

herself called by the names of Miriam and Maria, a difference not very great—but the names throughout all these instruments are of a varying character.

The full name of Valentine was doubtless Samuel Valentine Vander-Wilden.

The papers above referred to or most of them have been mentioned or designated in the Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, and in the English Colonial Manuscripts, and while it is probable that they have no general historical interest, it may be well to have their existence noted for the Society, as they may prove to be of value in furnishing some further information of the period.

PHASES OF JEWISH LIFE IN NEW YORK BEFORE 1800.

By Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

II.

In a former article with the above title, the writer attempted to supplement certain portions of Judge Daly's pioneer work on American Jewish history. He then had occasion to point out that the view taken in the work mentioned in regard to the first settlement of Jews in New York was slightly erroneous, two Jews having arrived in that city several months earlier than the party of twenty-seven from Brazil whom Judge Daly described as the first arrivals. In the present article the writer finds himself in the rather strange position of himself correcting his own recent statement, by giving proof of a still earlier settlement than that referred to a year ago, and of correcting and supplementing other statements as well. From one point of view this may be regarded as self-conviction of premature and unscientific generalizations; from another point of view it is merely evidence of the tentative character of our investigations, in which more diligent research supplements and corrects deductions which followed logically from data then at hand, but which are incorrect in view of more recent discoveries. While, then, it may be argued on the one hand that all generalization and deductions from facts within the scope of our labors are to be avoided as premature and prone to be erroneous, a more correct view is that all our investigations should be regarded as tentative, though generalizations cannot fail to render otherwise dry collections of facts interesting and pointed, and will be substantially correct and scientific as long as they follow from careful consideration and examination of known facts.

The present paper will be found to embody many facts which the writer has heretofore endeavored to set forth. In the present instance, however, his former conclusions are shown to have been based on incomplete and imperfect data. Last September, largely through the kindness and at the instance of the Hon. Simon W. Rosendale of Albany, the writer was enabled to examine into the very valuable historical treasures which are contained in the archives of the State of New York, in the capitol at Albany, with a particular view to our field of activity. Most of the papers his rather hasty examination brought to light had been summarized by O'Callaghan in his *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts of the State of New York,* which the Jewish historian has freely drawn on in the past. In fact, however, these summaries were often so brief as to give an erroneous idea of the contents of particular documents of interest to us, in other instances such portions were entirely ignored, while in still others, indorsements on the documents as to the disposition made of the subject-matter were omitted. It follows that compilations of these summaries were necessarily defective and incorrect in parts, so much so in fact as to render the "twice-told tales" to be told herein substantially new. It should furthermore be added that it was frequently quite difficult to decipher passages, particularly names, in these ancient documents, sometimes over two hundred years old, so that some allowance must be made for errors arising from this fact.

But to return to our earliest Jewish arrivals in New York —from present appearance and data. In a letter written on April 4, 1652, from Amsterdam by the Director of the West India Company to the Governor and Council of New Netherlands* on the subject of sailors and soldiers sent out to New Amsterdam by the company at the request of the Governor and Council, we find the following passage: "Among them

* Vanderkemp's *Translation of Dutch Colonial Records,* vol. IV, p. 65.

you shall find some Jews on the muster rolls, who have engaged to serve as soldiers during the term of one year after their arrival, but after that year they intend to return to farming business from which they were taken here. We do not hesitate to acquiesce in this proposal, as we may next year replace them by others." From this it would appear that there were Jews in New York as early as 1652; the language quoted leaves it doubtful, however, if the plan was that these Jewish soldiers were to return to farming in Holland, or to adopt that vocation in New Netherlands.*

So also a rather curious note is to be found appended to a letter of instructions issued by the Dutch West India Company to Stuyvesant on April 26, 1655, granting the petition of the Portuguese Jews for leave to settle in New Amsterdam, as that letter appears in Vanderkemp's Translations of the Dutch Records.† At the words "Portuguese Jews" an asterisk appears, referring to a note at the bottom of the page as follows: "The Jews at Fort Amsterdam are divided into two distinct bodies, viz., the Portuguese and German Jews; the first class is far the wealthier." The paragraph of the letter to which this note refers is to be found in Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America* (p. 9, note 5), as translated by a different hand in *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. XIV, p. 315, where this note is not given. The question suggested itself whether this note could have been a part of the original letter, or an annotation of the translator merely, a question not free from difficulty *a priori*. Thanks to the warm interest of Mr. Rosendale in researches of this nature, the matter need not be left to *a priori* reasoning, for a reference to the original Dutch manuscripts in Albany‡ has clearly determined the question. At the instance of the writer, Mr. Rosendale requested Mr. George R. Howell, the State Archivist, to examine this original record, and that gentleman

* See p. 43 ff. of this publication.

† Vol. IV, p. 175.

‡ Dutch Col. MSS., vol. XII, p. 18.

states that he has been able to "find no foot-note there in regard to the Portuguese and German Jews," and he further testifies that "the foot-note in the translation of Vanderkemp is in his own handwriting, and seems to have been added by him, as many other similar foot-notes of his, to illustrate or explain the text."* The note being, then, an annotation of Vanderkemp merely, the question arises if it may be regarded as referring to the translator's time, in the beginning of the present century, or to the period in question, 1656. A careful consideration of the circumstances and of the phraseology of the note would seem to leave no doubt but that the latter was the case. We may therefore safely adopt Mr. Vanderkemp's statement that there were German and Portuguese Jews in New Amsterdam at this early date, even though very few names of early settlers indicate anything else than Portuguese origin.†

A rather meagre and misleading summary of certain documents in our State Archives, contained in O'Callaghan's *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, is responsible for the statements that the civic authorities had rather rudely refused to permit the Jews to have a cemetery in New Amsterdam in July, 1655, and adhered to their refusal till a Jew died the next year.‡ An examination of the original documents shows that both of these statements are unwarranted.

In Vanderkemp's *Translations of Dutch Records* (vol. II, p. 21), the original MSS. being in Dutch (vol. VI, p. 68), we read: "Abraham de Lucena, Salvador D'Andrade and Jacob Coe (Coen)—Jews—in the name of others beside themselves, solicited the Director General this day for a burying-place, which they might be permitted to purchase for their nation, which petition being maturely considered, is resolved to give them the following answer: 'that if they would not

*The thanks of the writer are due to Mr. Howell for this and other courtesies.

†Compare Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 25.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 15.

bury their dead (for which was yet no occasion whatever) in the common burying-ground, then it was permitted them, when the necessity or occasion might require it, to bury their dead anywhere else on any unappropriated ground belonging to the company. Done in New Amsterdam, in New Netherlands, 27 July, 1655.'"

Some months afterwards* further action was taken: "The Council: Present, the Director General and the Hon. Nicasius de Sille, La Montague and Cornelius van Tienhoven. A petition being presented and read of Abraham de Lucena, Salvador D'Andrada and Jacob Coe (Coen), Jews, in the name of the Jews, soliciting the permission to purchase a burying place, or that such a place might be shown or granted them —on which petition the following apostell was given: The Hon. Nicasius de Sille and Cornelius Tienhoven are authorized to show the supplicants a spot for a burying-ground without the city—and communicate the result of it to the Council. Done in the Fortress Amsterdam, in New Netherland, 22 February, 1656." No other references to the matter have been found, and, as Judge Daly pointed out, the exact site of the original burying-ground is uncertain. It seems, however, that a spot was designated without waiting till any death took place among the Jews, and it is also quite probable, from the language used, that the land was given by the company and not sold for such purpose. Several interesting and picturesque descriptions of the old Jewish cemeteries in New York may be found in Janvier's recent work, *Old New York*.

Some information as to the trading trips which the early Jewish settlers of New York took can be gleaned from the following petition of Jacob Lucena, of August, 1678, which is endorsed "Granted in part": "Petitioner has been a dweller in the Collony for the space of 22 years and upwards and hath served an apprenticeship and done Trading for himself for the space of 8 years and upwards . . . . and

* *Translation of Dutch Records*, vol. II, p. 240, Dutch MSS., vol. 6, p. 85.

hath had the privilege to trade to Albany and Esopus without any Let or hindrance as other traders and dealers have done. Has now shipped goods intending to go there, ignorant of any Law or Ordinance prohibiting the same, but is not allowed to go without a pass from your honors. If not obtained, it will be very injurious to Petitioner, he having sundry debts due to him in these places which now he might obtain and ye sloop staying on his charge." (Eng. MSS., vol. 28, p. 5.)

More curious is a document attesting to the valor of Joseph Isacks during King William's War, in 1691, reading as follows: "The humble petition of Joseph Isacks, humbly sheweth: That y^r^ petitioner, willing to do their Maj'tys all the service he could in these late troublesome times, listed himself under Major Magegorie (?) and being att wont for a Gunn was supplied by Capt. William Meeritt, which Gunn was taken by Thomas Clark out of y^r^ petitioner's lodging, for what reason he your petitioner knows not, and now is dayly threatened by the said Capt. Meeritt to pay for the said Gunn. Therefore your petitioner humbly prays your honors in Charitie to Consider and alsoe to Order that the said Clark may restore to your Petitioner the said Gunn or the value thereof to Mr. William Merritt, being as he the said Merritt contends five pounds, and your petitioner shall pray etc. Sept. 26, 1691." (Eng. MSS., vol. 38, p. 5.)

In a paper bearing the same title as the present one, the writer last year contended that the extremely important West India trade, which was one of the most important factors in New York City's commercial success in colonial times, was in that day very largely in the hands of Jewish merchants in New York, dealing with co-religionists in these other regions. This theory is confirmed by original letters and petitions preserved in Albany, as also by such parallel investigations as those of Picciotto in his *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (p. 94), who states "that about 1750 the foreign commerce of the Jews of London was reckoned at

£1,500,000. The trade with Jamaica was principally in Hebrew hands, and in that island about 200 Jewish families resided and had been naturalized." Nothing can confirm this view more strongly than certain petitions which Louis Gomez & Son laid before the executive authorities in June, 1710, in which they boldly argued against the expediency of certain restrictions upon the exportation of wheat, urged that they be excepted from such provisions, and pointed out what benefits would accrue to the colony if this trade were fostered, which they and their principal so largely controlled. It is very suggestive that the particular petition in question should have been granted, in view of a failure to secure favorable action on a somewhat similar request made by them and Abraham de Lucena jointly only a week before as to trade with the Madeiras, and similar refusals of petitions from other merchants.

This letter deserves to be transcribed in full (Eng. MSS., vol. 54, p. 12): "To the Hon^{ble} Gerardus Beekman, Esq., President, and others, the members of her Majesty's Council for the Province of New York, the humble Petition of Louis Gomez & Son sheweth That one Mr. Francis Lewis de las Conselos, an eminent merchant in the island of Madiera having by Charter party dated the 17th day of February last past agreed with Samuel Gilbert of the Island of Bermuda, mariner, in behalf of himself and the owners of the sloop called the Industry lately arrived at this Port from Madiera aforesaid for the freight of 2300 bushels of wheat certain and what more she can carry, from the Port of New York to Lisbon, your Hon^{rs} petitioners as factors to the said Francis Lewis de las Conselos are directed by and for him to ship the said wheat on Board the said sloop within three weeks after the present Loading of Wine in the said sloop is taken out as by the said Charter party their said Correspondent has obliged himself to do under the penalty of 1200 lbs., which said quantity of wheat your Honours Petitioners by direction from the said Correspondent did actually buy before the Embargo was laid by your Honours. Your

Honours Petitioners beg leave further to inform you that the said Charter party is to go from Lisbon to Madeira and from thence hither or to Curacoa, as the said Francis Lewis de las Conselos shall think convenient. So, as your Honours Petitioners will undertake, she shall be sent to this Port and not to Curacoa whereby the Trade of this place will in some measure be augmented, tho by that way but very inconsiderably to what it will further be by means of their said Correspondent (whose fortune qualifies him for it) if your honours shall be pleased to encourage him in this, he having laid the foundation for a new and very considerable Trade, which will be mostly carried on by money imported on his account from Curacoa and Jamaica, or by Bills drawn on Europe and the West Indies, the Benefit whereof to this Province your hon^rs will soon perceive by the great quantity of flower that will be exported to places where yet none has been sent from hence, a trade which Pennsylvania would gladly embrace and to which your honours Petitioners have been thither invited. Your Honours Petitioners having represented to you the great penalty their Correspondent is under for the performance of the said Charter party and he having writ to England to ensure the said Landing in the said sloop from this Port to Lisbon aforesaid, humbly pray your honours to consider the ill consequences it may be to them if by means of the said embargo he be deprived of the possibility of complying with the said Charter party, wherefore, and that their said correspondent may in no wise be discouraged from the prosecution of the aforesaid intended Trade which Petitioners hope your Honorables will soon be convinced by its Effects will prove very much to the interest and advantage of this province, further humbly pray your Honorables to grant them the liberty to Export in the said sloop the aforesaid quantity of wheat. And as in duty bound they shall ever pray, etc.

LOUIS GOMEZ & SON."

N. Y., June 12, 1710.

Endorsed: "Read and Granted."

It is scarcely surprising that such astute business-men should have been very successful, and such transactions fully warrant Judge Daly's statement that they were among the principal personages in the Jewish community (pp. 29, 30), a statement which is borne out by a reference to them in a brief biographical sketch of A. L. Gomez in a curious little pamphlet entitled *Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City*, 1845: "Gomez, A. L. . . . . $200,000. The father of Mr. Gomez was M. M. Gomez, an aged and respectable descendant of the Gomezes, who were among the first Hebrew Emigrants to England and the Colonies, from persecutions in Portugal, where they could not exercise their ancient faith under penalty of death. The relatives of his father, who brought considerable wealth with them, were distinguished Nobles of that Kingdom, and held lucrative appointments at the court of the Monarch prior to their departure. Mr. Gomez is the true representative of a modern English Gentleman in his amiable deportment and fine breeding."

Some indication of the place where Benjamin Gomez transacted business is afforded by an advertisement by him in the *New York Mercury* of September 7, 1761, that "there may be bought at his House, opposite the Treasurer's, West India and N. Y. distilled Rum, by the Hogshead, Molasses, Sugar, & sundry European Goods."

The numerous commissions granted between 1757 and 1761 to vessels owned by Hayman Levy, Sampson Simson and Judah Hays were instanced on a former occasion by the writer as proof of their commercial activity. An examination of the commissions themselves, however, which was kindly made by Mr. G. Herbert Cone of Albany, discloses the fact that the object of all these commissions was to prey upon the enemy's commerce during the Seven Years' War. These include Sampson Simson's "Hardy," commissioned August 30, 1757; the "Sampson," December 23, 1757; his "Union," July 11, 1759, and "Polly," December 11, 1759. Also Hay-

man Levy's "Dreadnaught," June 23, 1760; "Orleans," June 22, 1761, and Judah Hays' ship "Duke of Cumberland," commissioned October 22, 1760, being 160 tons burthen, mounted with 16 carriage guns and carrying a crew of fifty.*

But it was not only by means of privateersmen that the Jewish merchants of old New York managed to turn an honest penny by the pending warfare. An examination of such advertisements as appeared at the time amply proves this, as may be instanced by the following notice from the *New York Mercury* of August 17, 1761, during the same war: "To be Sold, by Hayman Levy, in Bayard Street, Camp Equipages of all Sorts, Best Soldiers English Shoes, White and Brown thread Soldiers Hose, Best Soldiers Shirts, Regimental Shoes, Knee and Stock Buckles, Hair Cockades, Scarlet Broad Cloths" and everything that goes to make up the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," as well as articles that are suitable also for more quiet times, including beaver and deer skins. It was at about this time that the partnership that had existed between Hayman Levy and Solomon Marache was dissolved, it having been announced in the *New York Mercury* of September 14, 1761, that Marache was about to leave for Europe, but that Hayman Levy would continue the business at their former store, opposite the fort.

At about the same time appeared some interesting advertisements published on behalf of Jonas Phillips, on whose career much interesting light was thrown by a paper read at our last meeting. These advertisements indicate that Jonas Phillips was even more of a wanderer than the article in question indicated, for he appears to have been in business in Albany for some time before he settled in New York City in 1761.† The *New York Mercury* of August 24, 1764, contains the following: "Albany, August 1, 1761.—Jonas Phil-

*English MSS., vols. LXXV, pp. 10, 58; LXXVI, p. 116; LXXXVII, pp. 97, 150; LXXXVIII, p. 117; LXXXIX, pp. 145, 146.

†Compare with Mr. N. T. Phillips' article, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 51.

lips intends to leave this place in a short time. Asks for settling of his accounts by September 1st at his store, facing the Ordnance storehouse, where he has to dispose of sundry European & India goods, likewise wines, brandies, tea, raisins, Florence Oyl, biscuits, etc.

N. B. He takes in payment Beaver and Deer skins, small furs &c. at the New York market price. The said Phillips begs the favor of those gentlemen that are indebted to him since the year 1759 to pay off their old accounts by the above date, or else they may depend to find their accounts in the hands of a lawyer."

Before many months he had removed to New York, as appears from an advertisement in the *New York Mercury* of November 23, 1761, in which his place of business is described as being opposite the Fort, next door to Mrs. Moore's.

The fact that there were tories among the Jews in New York at the outbreak of the Revolution was apparent from the controversy which Mr. Phillips recently set forth, as a result of which the patriotic majority determined to risk dissolving the Congregation for the sake of country. The minority cannot have been a small one, however, as appears from the number of Jewish names appended to an ardent loyalist address to Admiral and General Howe, presented by New Yorkers about October 16, 1776. Among the signers were the following: Haob Aaron, Abraham Gomez, Moses Gomez, Jr., Barrak Hays, David Hays, Uriah Hendricks, Levy Israel, Aaron Keyser, David Levison, Henry Marx, Samuel Myers, David Nathan, Sam. Samuel, George Simpson and Isaac Solomons.* It would seem that in several instances some members of a family espoused the patriot cause, others remained loyalists, as this list indicates.†

**New York in the Revolution, from MSS. belonging to the N. Y. Mercantile Library*, p. 119.

† See pamphlet by the writer, *Rebecca Franks, an American Jewish Belle of the Last Century*, New York, 1894.

In contrast with these we may turn to Isaac Moses, whose patriotic services as co-worker in Robert Morris's noble labors on behalf of the government finances during the Revolutionary War were briefly referred to last year in an article bearing the same title as the present one. Niles, in his *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, p. 486, refers to this incident as follows: "A number of patriotic gentlemen in a critical period of the revolutionary war, gave their bonds to the amount of about £260,000 in gold and silver, for procuring provisions to keep the army together. . . . The amount of the bonds was never called for, but it is well to keep in remembrance the names of those who in the times that tried men's souls, stepped forward and pledged their all towards the support of those who were contending for their liberty." On this list Isaac Moses' name appears as pledging £3000. It is this same man who is referred to in such a flattering way in Wilson's *Memorial History of New York City*, vol. IV, p. 538, in an article on the "Commercial History of the City of New York," by John A. Stevens, in the following passage: "In November, 1784, on the petition of the Chamber of Commerce, the Legislature ordered that the duties be levied under a specific in lieu of an ad valorem tariff, as recommended by Congress. The merchants of New York had always favored a specific duty. To the objection that by the specific duty the rich and the poor consumers are taxed alike, they made the conclusive answer that under a specific duty the superior article, the best goods, will always seek the market. The petition of the Chamber of Commerce was worded in that way by Isaac Moses, one of the most intelligent and respected of the Jewish merchants of the city, and a member of that institution. The Legislature listened to the prayer, and on November 18, 1784, passed an act levying specific duties, and establishing a custom house the same day."

This article may fitly be brought to a close by a reference to a very striking incident in old New York history. Among

the most interesting incidents referred to in the last number of this Society's proceedings was that of the subscription list circulated in 1788 among non-Jews of Philadelphia on behalf of the synagogue of that city, to which the names of Benjamin Franklin, Charles Biddell, William Bradford, David Rittenhouse and others were signed.*

It appears, however, that the Jews of New York, more than seventy-five years before them, had exhibited a similar liberal spirit, and apparently without any such direct appeal to them as was resorted to by the Jews of Philadelphia to the Christian subscribers. In a work entitled *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church* by the Rev. Wm. Berrian (pp. 18, 325), we learn that a subscription was started in 1711 towards building the steeple of that church, as a result of which £312 13*s.* 7*d.* were collected, the Jews' contributions aggregating £5 12*s.* 3*d.* The list of donors is as follows:

"The Jews' contributions.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Lewis Gomez,	1	2	0
Abrm. D'Lucena (the Rabbi),	1	0	0
Rodrigo Pacheco,	1	0	0
Moses Levy,	0	11	0
Mordecai Nathan,	0	11	0
Jacob Franks,	1	0	0
Moses Michael,	0	8	3
	5	12	3

N. Y., Oct. 30, 1711: Then received of Mr. Wm. Vesey the several sums annext to the several names above written, amounting to the sum of Five pounds, twelve shillings and three pence.

DAVID JAMISON,
JNO. CROOKE,
Church Wardens."

*See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 180, by A. S. Wolfe Rosenbach, with which compare Henry S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 19, 20, where the appeal is also given.

The work just cited contains the names of all the donors, including the Christians. Not so, however, the article by Chas. B. Todd in Wilson's *Memorial History of New York*, vol. 1, p. 500, which gives only the list of Jewish donors. Considering the time at which this subscription was started, the insignificance in point of numbers of the Jews in New York at this period, and the financial condition of the donors, this act of generosity and religious liberality which recognized no bounds in sects and creeds, is indeed remarkable.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND JEWISH CITIZENS.

By Lewis Abraham, *Washington, D. C.*

The number of Israelites in this country prior to the Declaration of Independence was not large, but there is undoubted evidence that they were staunch supporters of the Colonies in their efforts to secure severance from foreign yoke.

When Washington had concluded his labors in the field of war and had attained deserved civic honors, and laurels from all quarters were being showered upon him, the Hebrews joined their fellow-citizens in felicitating the hero and statesman.

The following correspondence is gathered from the *United States Gazette* of 1790; a partial file of this paper can be found in the Congressional Library. It is strange that the letters are not all to be found in books in which the Washington correspondence is compiled.

The original letter addressed to the "Beth Elohim" congregation of Charleston, South Carolina, was carefully preserved among the many other valuable records of that city, but was destroyed by the great fire of 1838. His Honor the Mayor endeavored to obtain a copy from the department of the general government, but after a thorough examination of the records no such document could be found, and after a prolonged search the undersigned was written to and supplied the missing letter.*

* See *Year Book of the City of Charleston* for 1884, p. 280.

THE ADDRESS FROM THE HEBREW CONGREGATION OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BY MR. JACKSON, ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM GEORGIA.

"*Sir:*—We have long been anxious of congratulating you on your appointment, by unanimous approbation, to the presidential dignity of this country, and of testifying our unbounded confidence in your integrity and unblemished virtue. Yet however exalted the station you now fill, it is still not equal to the merit of your heroic services through an arduous and dangerous conflict, which has embosomed you in the hearts of her citizens.

Our eccentric situation, added to a diffidence founded on the most profound respect, has thus long prevented our address, yet the delay has realized anticipation, given us an opportunity of presenting our grateful acknowledgments for the benediction of heaven through the magnanimity of federal influence and the equity of your administration.

Your unexampled liberality and extensive philanthropy have dispelled that cloud of bigotry and superstition which has long as a vail shaded religion—unrivetted the fetters of enthusiasm—enfranchised us with all the privileges and immunities of free citizens, and initiated us into the grand mass of legislative mechanism. By example you have taught us to endure the ravages of war with manly fortitude, and to enjoy the blessings of peace with reverence to the Deity and benignity and love to our fellow-creatures.

May the Great Author of the world grant you all happiness—an uninterrupted series of health—addition of years to the number of your days, and a continuance of guardianship to that freedom which under auspices of heaven your magnanimity and wisdom have given these States.

LEVI SHEFTAL, *President.*
In behalf of the Hebrew Congregations."

To which the President was pleased to return the following:

ANSWER.—TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATIONS OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.*

"*Gentlemen:*—I thank you with great sincerity for your congratulations on my appointment to the office which I have the honor to hold by the unanimous choice of my fellow-citizens, and especially the expressions you are pleased to use in testifying the confidence that is reposed in me by your congregations.

As the delay which has naturally intervened between my election and your address has afforded me an opportunity for appreciating the merits of the Federal Government and for communicating your sentiments of its administration, I have rather to express my satisfaction rather than regret at a circumstance which demonstrates (upon experiment) your attachment to the former as well as approbation of the latter.

I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive; happily the people of the United States have in many instances exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther if gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace which (under the favor of heaven) have been attained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity and charity toward their fellow-creatures.

May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, planted them in a promised land, *whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation*, still continue to water them with the dews of heaven and make the inhabitants of every denomination par-

* This reply is printed in Jared Sparks' Collection, vol. XII, p. 185.

ticipate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah. G. WASHINGTON."

ADDRESS OF THE NEWPORT CONGREGATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"*Sir:*—Permit the children of the stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merit, and to join with our fellow-citizens in welcoming you to Newport.

With pleasure we reflect on those days of difficulty and danger when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword, shielded your head in the day of battle; and we rejoice to think that the same spirit which rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel, enabling him to preside over the provinces of the Babylonian Empire, rests and ever will rest upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of the Chief Magistrate of these States.

Deprived as we hitherto have been of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now—with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events—behold a government erected by the majesty of the people—a government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance, but generously affording to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship, deeming every one of whatever nation, tongue or language, equal parts of the great governmental machine.

This so ample and extensive Federal Union, whose base is philanthropy, mutual confidence and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the great God who rules in the armies of the heavens and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatever seemeth to Him good.

For all the blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we desire to send up our thanks to the Ancient of days, the great

Preserver of men, beseeching Him that the angels who conducted our forefathers through the wilderness into the promised land may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life; and when, like Joshua, full of days and full of honors, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly paradise to partake of the water of life and the tree of immortality.

Done and signed by order of the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island. MOSES SEIXAS, *Warden.*

NEWPORT, *August* 17, 1790."

WASHINGTON'S REPLY TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATION IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

"*Gentlemen:*—While I received with much satisfaction your address replete with expressions of esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you that I shall always retain grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced on my visit to Newport from all classes of citizens.

The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security.

If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good government, to become a great and happy people.

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship.

It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights, for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives

to bigotry no factions, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration and fervent wishes for my felicity.

May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants—while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid.

May the father of all mercies scatter light, and not darkness, upon our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in His own due time and way everlastingly happy. G. WASHINGTON."

THE ADDRESS OF THE HEBREW CONGREGATIONS IN THE CITIES OF PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, RICHMOND AND CHARLESTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"*Sir:*—It is reserved for you to unite in affection for your character and person every political and religious denomination of men; and in this will the Hebrew congregations aforesaid yield to no class of their fellow-citizens.

We have hitherto been prevented by various circumstances peculiar to our situation from adding our congratulations to those which the rest of America have offered on your elevation to the chair of the Federal Government. Deign, then, illustrious sir, to accept this our homage.

The wonders which the Lord of Hosts had worked in the days of our forefathers have been taught us to observe the greatness of His wisdom and His might throughout the events of the late glorious revolution; and while we humble ourselves at His footstool in thanksgiving and praise for the blessing of His deliverance, we acknowledge you, the leader of American armies, as His chosen and beloved servant.

But not to your sword alone is present happiness to be ascribed; that, indeed, opened the way to the reign of freedom; but never was perfectly secure until your hand gave birth to the Federal Constitution and you renounced the joys of retirement to seal by your administration in peace what you had achieved in war.

To the eternal God, who is thy refuge, we commit in our prayers the care of thy precious life; and when, full of years, thou shalt be gathered unto thy people, thy righteousness shall go before thee, and we shall remember, amidst our regret, 'that the Lord hath set apart the godly for himself,' whilst thy name and thy virtues will remain an indelible memorial on our minds. MANUEL JOSEPHSON,

For and in behalf and under the authority of the several congregations aforesaid."

To which the President was pleased to return the following:

ANSWER. — TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATIONS IN THE CITIES OF PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, CHARLESTON AND RICHMOND.

"*Gentlemen:*—The liberality of sentiment toward each other, which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country, stands unparalleled in the history of nations.

The affection of such a people is a treasure beyond the reach of calculation, and the repeated proofs which my fellow-citizens have given of their attachment to me and approbation of my doings form the purest source of my temporal felicity.

The affectionate expressions of your address again excite my gratitude and receive my warmest acknowledgment.

The power and goodness of the Almighty, so strongly manifested in the events of our late glorious revolution, and His kind interposition in our behalf, have been no less visible in the establishment of our present equal government. In war

He directed the sword, and in peace He has ruled in our councils. My agency in both has been guided by the best intentions and a sense of duty I owe to my country.

And as my exertions have hitherto been amply rewarded by the approbation of my fellow-citizens, I shall endeavor to deserve a continuance of it by my future conduct.

May the same temporal and eternal blessings which you implore for me, rest upon your congregations.

G. WASHINGTON."

Appropriate in view of the foregoing expressions of the father of his country to his Hebrew fellow-citizens is the following correspondence of patriots of the early days of the United States.

In 1818 the Mill Street Synagogue was consecrated. Mordecai M. Noah delivered an eloquent address on the occasion, and sent copies thereof to distinguished statesmen. Among the replies received were the following, which are worthy of preservation:

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.*

"MONTICELLO, *May* 28, 1818.

Sir:—I thank you for the discourse on the consecration of the Synagogue in your city, with which you have been pleased to favor me. I have read it with pleasure and instruction, having learnt from it some valuable facts in Jewish history which I did not know before. Your sect by its sufferings has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble, and practiced by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to this vice, protecting our religious, as they do our civil rights, by putting all on an equal footing. But more remains to be done,

* *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States in the Years* 1813-14 *and* 15. By Mordecai M. Noah; New York and London, 1819. Appendix, pp. xxv and xxvi.

for although we are free by the law, we are not so in practice; public opinion erects itself into an Inquisition, and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an *Auto-de-fe.*

The prejudice still scowling on your section of our religion, although the elder one, cannot be unfelt by yourselves; it is to be hoped that individual dispositions will at length mould themselves to the model of the law, and consider the moral basis, on which all our religions rest, as the rallying point which unites them in a common interest; while the peculiar dogmas branching from it are the exclusive concern of the respective sects embracing them, and no rightful subject of notice to any other; public opinion needs reformation on that point, which would have the further happy effect of doing away the hypocritical maxim of '*intus et lubet, foris ut moris.*' Nothing, I think, would be so likely to effect this, as to your sect particularly, as the more careful attention to education, which you recommend, and which, placing its members on the equal and commanding benches of science, will exhibit them as equal objects of respect and favor. I salute you with great respect and esteem.

(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

M. M. NOAH, Esq."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM JAMES MADISON, ESQ., ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

"MONTPELIER, *May* 15, 1818.

Sir:—I have received your letter of the 6th, with the eloquent discourse delivered at the consecration of the Synagogue. Having ever regarded the freedom of religious opinions and worship as equally belonging to every sect, and the secure enjoyment of it as the best human provision for bringing all, either into the same way of thinking, or into that mutual charity which is the only proper substitute, I observe with pleasure the view you give of the spirit in which

your sect partake of the common blessings afforded by our Government and laws.

As your foreign mission took place whilst I was in the administration, it cannot but be agreeable to me to learn that your accounts have been closed in a manner so favorable to you.

(Signed) JAMES MADISON."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

"QUINCY, *July* 31, 1818.

Sir:—Accept my best thanks for your polite and obliging favour of the 24th, and especially for the discourse inclosed. I know not when I have read a more liberal or more elegant composition.

You have not extended your ideas of the right of private judgment and the liberty of conscience, both in religion and philosophy, farther than I do. Mine are limited only by morals and propriety.

I have had occasion to be acquainted with several gentlemen of your nation, and to transact business with some of them, whom I found to be men of as liberal minds, as much honor, probity, generosity and good breeding, as any I have known in any sect of religion or philosophy.

I wish your nation may be admitted to all privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more; and annul every narrow idea in religion, government, and commerce. Let the wits joke; the philosophers sneer! What then? It has pleased the Providence of the 'first cause,' the universal cause, that Abraham should give religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mahometans, the greatest part of the modern civilized world.

(Signed) JOHN ADAMS."

THE RELATION OF JEWS TO OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

By Lewis Abraham, *Washington, D. C.*

The Statue of Jefferson in the Capitol.

In accordance with a resolution offered by Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, while he was a member of the House of Representatives, "that each State should be permitted to send the effigies of two of her chosen sons, in marble or bronze, to be placed permanently here," the old hall is fast becoming an American memorial chamber.

Several statues, purchased by the United States, have been deposited there, and many of the States have taken advantage of the privilege and paid homage and honor to their distinguished dead in the manner suggested by the resolution of Congress.

There is, however, one splendid work of art in the corridor that has a peculiar history. It was a gift to the Government. All others have been paid for by Congress or the several State Legislatures. The bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson by David d'Angers, a French sculptor, was presented to Congress by an Israelite, Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) Uriah Phillips Levy, of the United States Navy, in 1833, but was not formally accepted until forty years thereafter.

Originally it stood in the rotunda, but was removed from there and for many years remained in the grounds in front of the Presidential Mansion. After its acceptance in 1874, upon motion of Senator Sumner, it was finally located in its present position. It represents the author of the Declaration of Independence as having just signed that instrument of American liberty. The pedestal is a superb piece of work, in four varieties of marble, executed by Struthers of Phila-

delphia. It was the first piece of statuary ever owned by the Government, and is dedicated by the donor to his fellow-citizens. Upon the scroll which Jefferson holds in his hand is engraved a *verbatim* copy of the Declaration of Independence, with copies of autographic signatures of John Hancock and Thomas Jefferson. The Levy family were intimate personal friends and great admirers of the author of our *Magna Charta*, and after his death became the owners of Monticello. There is a significance in the gift and in the sentiment it conveys, and the co-religionists of Levy point with pardonable pride to the fact that this piece of statuary, symbolizing the grand national organic law and honoring one of the greatest men who contributed to erect the fabric of the temple of American liberty, was the free-will offering of one of their people.

Bunker Hill Monument.

The commemoration of the first battle-field in the Revolutionary War by a monument was made possible by a liberal contribution of Judah Touro. The proceedings of the committee in charge of erecting this national memorial, in honor and testimony of the patriots and heroes who laid the foundation of the Union, contains grateful acknowledgment of Touro's assistance.

The history of the monument published by George Washington Warren contains the following acknowledgments: "It was confidentially communicated to the Directors by Mr. William Appleton that whenever the Association, in addition to a like offer of Mr. Lawrence, should have money enough within ten thousand dollars ($10,000), to finish their work, Judah Touro would give that sum. It was a noble offer, and coming from a resident of a distant State, curiosity was excited" (p. 283).

Then follows a biographical sketch of this eminent citizen, concluding as follows: "He was one of the smallest of all classes into which mankind can be divided—of men who

accumulated wealth without even doing a wrong, taking an advantage, or making an enemy; who become rich without being avaricious; who deny themselves the comforts of life that they may acquire the means of promoting the comfort and elevating the condition of their fellow-men."

To complete the monument a fair was held in Boston by ladies in aid of the building fund, at which delegates from all the States attended.

The delegation from Louisiana, however, in their capacity as citizens of that State, purchased at the Charleston table the fine model of the monument which adorned it; and they caused it to be transported to New Orleans and to be placed in one of the public buildings in honor of Judah Touro, where it remained until it was destroyed, with the building, by fire.

In the abstract of donations (p. 311) received from private sources, the gross sum is stated as $55,153.27—of which Judah Touro donated $10,000.

At a meeting of the board of directors the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Directors receive the contribution of Mr. Touro with sentiments of deep and grateful respect, considering as a testimonial of his regard for the principles and the contest for which, and its successful issue, the monument is intended to commemorate, and his affectionate recollection of the friends of his youth and the place of his early residence.

Resolved, That John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Joseph Story, Edward Everett and Franklin Dexter be appointed a committee to prepare an inscription for a tablet to be placed on the monument, stating the object for which it is erected, and recording the liberality of Judah Touro, and Amos Lawrence, and the successful exertions of the daughters of these patriots whose memory we would perpetuate—donations and labor which have placed in the possession of the Directors a fund sufficient to complete the memorial of one

of the most important events in the history of our country" (p. 312).

June 17th, 1843, a banquet was held in Faneuil Hall in celebration of the completion of the monument. Governor Marcus Morton, who was suffering from indisposition, was unable to attend. He sent a letter, which was read. The two great benefactors of the Association were remembered by the following (p. 330):

> "Amos and Judah, venerated names,
> Patriarch and Prophet, press their equal claims,
> Like generous coursers running 'neck and neck,'
> Each aids the work by giving it a *check*.
> Christian and Jew, they carry out one plan,
> For though of different faith, each is in heart a MAN."

Statue of Religious Liberty, Centennial Celebration, 1876.

One hundred years elapse, with their cares and joys, jeopardy and success, and America celebrates the centennial year of its existence by a grand exhibition in the city where is deposited the liberty bell that proclaimed the birth of the Republic. The massive engine that moves obedient machinery sings its pæans. The nimble shuttle and the agile loom weave chaplets and trophies. Lightning-flashes leap from fathomless seas and speak with living fire congratulations of emperors, kings and potentates. Human handicraft from Occident to Orient delve and build and fuse and shape tributes of felicitation to the glory and honor and praise, aye, even worship, of the land of Washington.

In an humble quarter of the Centennial grounds the Israelites of the United States, through one of their organizations, the Sons of the Covenant, placed their homage. It is in the shape of a group of statuary in Carrara marble, styled "Religious Liberty."

It was executed in Rome by one of their own people, Moses Ezekiel, a native of Richmond, Virginia. Upon the

pedestal is no narrow sectarian inscription. The promoters of this tribute felt the eloquence of the Bill of Human Rights which they desired to typify, and simply transcribed the clause of the Constitution which reads:

CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW
RESPECTING AN ESTABLISHMENT OF
RELIGION, OR PROHIBITING THE
FREE EXERCISE THEREOF.

An eminent foreigner, a statesman of world-wide fame, while recently passing through Fairmount Park, earnestly gazed at the marble group and exclaimed: "If the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 resulted in this work of art and did nothing else, the American people should be satisfied. I, the subject of a great monarch, salute the nation that makes this creation possible."

EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE IN AMERICA.

By George Alexander Kohut, *New York.*

Without entering into the discussion of the exact period of the colonization of the Jews in South America, which, so interesting in itself, deserves special consideration, we shall endeavor, in this sketch, to give an outline of the literary productions and aspirations of our co-religionists from the time of their first settlement in Brazil to the early decades of the present century.

It is now well known that in 1642 a large number of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, under the guidance of Isaac Aboab and Moses Raphael de Aguilar, emigrated from Holland and took up their abode in the only South American country in which Torquemada's scepter did not hold sway.[1]* Before that period, however, we find indications of Hebrew colonists, and if we may trust Dr. Fishell's *Chronological Notes of the History of the Jews in America,*† as far back as 1548 some Portuguese Jews transplanted the sugar cane from the island of Madeira to Brazil. The residence of the Marranos or New Christians on this continent almost immediately after the discovery,[2]‡ and the frequent reference to secret Jews along the beginning and middle of the sixteenth century, whilst very valuable for the purpose of ascertaining the marvellous influence of the Inquisition, have absolutely no bearing on the subject of actual colonization; for they did not form a compact religious body, but were sporadically scattered, each engaged in guarding his secret and fearful lest

* The numbers refer to the supplementary notes.

†*Historical Magazine*, series I, vol. IV, pp. 52, 53; republished by Max J. Kohler, M. A., in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 99, 100.

‡ See Dr. M. Kayserling's notes on "The Colonization of America by the Jews," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 73.

the latent spark of loyalty to Judaism be kindled into flame when the taunts of the tyrants could no longer be endured.[3]

Dr. Fishell also informs us that all American Israelites united and organized a colony in Brazil in 1624, and that 600 of the leading Jews of Holland joined them.* We are eager to accept the date last given,[4] because otherwise the fact with which we shall begin the discussion of our theme would be wholly inexplicable. The probability of the correctness of this date is heightened by the knowledge that David Nassi, a Portuguese Jew who in 1659[5] obtained a charter from the French West India Company to found a Jewish colony in Cayenne, was a native of Brazil who must have lived as a Marrano under the Spanish-Portuguese government.† His countrymen who accompanied him were to be allowed the full enjoyment of every civil and religious privilege, on condition that they should grant the same without reserve to all who might choose to be their fellow-colonists.‡ It is safe to assume, therefore, that quite a respectable number of our brethren settled in Brazil prior to that date.

The first vestige of Jewish literature in America we find in 1636, when some Brazilian Hebrews, in dispute about liturgical questions,[6] sought counsel from Rabbi Chayim Sabbathai of Salonica,§ in whose Responses, תורת חיים part III, No. 3, the query and reply are printed in full.‖ The volume

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 94 and 99.

† See I. M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, vol. VIII, Berlin, 1828, p. 265.

‡ See Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews*, etc., London, 1818, p. 455, who quotes the famous *Essai historique sur la Colonie Surinam*, referred to later on.

§ Not Rabbi Sobati as Dr. A. Hahn has it in his otherwise excellent article, "The Primitive Jewish Settlements in America," in *American Jews' Annual* (1886–1887), p. 35; cf. also Jost, *l. c.* p. 266; Koenen's *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, p. 310.

‖ Cf. on the full title and bibliographic details, M. Roest's *Catalog d. . . . hebräischer u. jüdischer Bücher*, etc. (now in part in Columbia College, N. Y.), Amsterdam, 1868, p. 146, No. 2010; also his *Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica in the Rosenthal Library*, Amsterdam, 1875, vol. II, pp. 395–96, No. 2025 (Hebrew section), etc.

is exceedingly rare, and thus far the writer has been unable to find it. It would be interesting to have a copy of this earliest fragment of religious literature in America.

After 1642, when the colony under Aguilar, Aboab and other renowned Rabbis was firmly established, it is not surprising that Jewish literature began to flourish. In 1646, as the late Rev. Dr. A. Kohut has pointed out in his essay, *References to Columbus and America's Discovery in Contemporaneous Hebrew Literature*,[8] an interesting anthology of hymns and jubilee psalms, together with other literary pieces, was compiled by prominent scholars in commemoration of the happy delivery of Brazil from the bondage of Portuguese tyranny.[9] Its full title is given in a valuable article printed in the well-known Hebrew magazine *Hammeasseph* for 1785, unfortunately inaccessible, and in I. A. Benjacob's אוצר הספרים *Bibliographie der gesammten Hebräischen Literatur* (Wilna, 1880), pp. 156, 157, No. 117, where the following entry is made:

זכר רב. ה"ר יצחק אבוהב אב"ד ומ"ץ דק"ק ספרדים באמ"ד.
תפלות וידויים ותחנות אשר חיבר לקרוא לה' בעת צרתו וצרת קהלתו בבוא עליהם גדודי פורטוגאל בהיותו בבראזיליא שנת הת"ו וזכר עשה לנפלאות ה' בשירים ותשבחות בהצילו אותם מכף כל אויביהם, ונוסף עליהן קינה ונהי לט"ב, ועוד בה שלישיה והיתה לבאר מלאכת הדקדוק בל' צח ובקצרה.

Cf. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, pp. 537–9, No. MCXL *s. v.*: "ר' יצחק אבוהב R. Isaacus Aboab, junior, Castrodariensis Lusitanus, quem Amstelodamo an. 402, C. 1642, in *Brasiliam* abiisse ibique Synagogis Judaeorum praefuisse, inde autem Amstelodanum an. 414, C. 1654, reversum doctorem in Gymnasio septimo, quod ibi exat, constitutum esse testatur Dan. Levi de Barrios in *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 64. . . . Scripta ejus idem Barrios in *Vita Isaaci Usielis*, p. 45, his versibus comprehendit:

Sabio Ishac Aboab en el remoto *Brazil*, doctrina à la nacion electa en Amsterdam instruye Ley perfecta y el Pentateucho comento deboto. . . . *Porta del Cielo* el Cabalista Abraham Herrera con aguda vista aquila delreflejo

soberano Desde quel vino del *Brazil*, etc." (*ibid.* p. 538; see also vol. IV, p. 875, No. MCXL). He says under item 7 that he saw a book of *Benedictions* in Hebrew and Spanish in Amsterdam, which may be the very work we are in search of. We learn from Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845), p. 235, that Isaac Aboab possessed 18 MSS., 373 Hebrew books and 53 secular works. A catalogue of his library was issued in Amsterdam, 1693 (26 pp. in 4to). The MS. edited by him might be mentioned in that list. Strangely enough, the great bibliographer Steinschneider does not even allude to it in his Bodleian library catalogue (Berlin, 1852–60), unless the prayers and confessions attributed to Isaac Aboab, mentioned in No. 5295,[9] are identical, which is hardly likely, considering the discrepancy in their dates. Moreover, this *Zēcher Rāb* is a manuscript, according to the notes in the journal before cited, p. 32, whilst the other was published at Amsterdam in 1666. Not even Dr. Kayserling, to whom we owe the best of our knowledge of American Jewish history, has discovered this important item. In order to prevent confusion, we hasten to say that this work is not to be identified with one of similar name, also written in America (in Surinam) 140 years later, on another festal occasion, as will appear later on.

In the middle of the seventeenth century we find in Brazil poets and Talmudists who are well remembered in Jewish literature. Concerning Jacob Lagarto, who flourished about that time at Tamarico as *Chachâm* of the Jewish congregation, a discussion was carried on recently in the Jewish press by Dr. Felsenthal and the present writer.* The sources relating to him, whilst copious, are very obscure. De Barrios, in his *Arbol de las Vidas*, p. 87, and J. C. Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 511, No. MLXVI[b]. *s. v.* ר׳ יעקב לאגדתו R. Jacob Lagadto (*sic!*), refer to him, without, however, stating where he lived and the circumstances relative to his

* See *Jewish Exponent*, November 9th and 16th, 1894.

activity. Prof. Graetz,* Dr. Kayserling,† and the author of the American chapters of Lady Magnus's *Outlines of Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1890, p. 337) are unanimous in stating simply, that "at Tamarica lived the first [?] American-Jewish author, Jacob Lagarto [not Lagarte, as Kayserling *l. c.*], who published a collection of Talmudic sayings." On this point Wolf‡ (*l. c.*) says that he saw a manuscript of his entitled *Sēpher ha-ma'amârîm* (a collection of Talmudical aphorisms) mentioned on the sixteenth page of the catalogue of the books belonging to R. Isaac Aboab.§ Barrios, says Prof. Graetz (*l. c.* note 3), does not call it *Sēpher ha-ma'amârîm*, as Wolf does, but אהל יעקב ("Ōhēl Yā'ākōb") = *Tienda de Jacob*. None of the bibliographers make mention of this mysterious American Talmudist in their catalogues of books and MSS. in the various libraries of Europe. In this case, as in many others, we will have to rely on the keen instinct of Dr. Kayserling, who in his *Sephardim* was the first to revive Lagarto's memory.‖ The name Lagarto itself is a very rare one.¶

Next we have to mention the poet Eliyahu Machorro,** who

* *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X[2] (Leipzig, 1882), p. 27; cf. also his *Volkstümliche Gesch. d. Juden*, vol. III, p. 385. English transl. (Am. Jewish Pub. Soc., Philad., 1894), vol. IV, p. 693.

† *Sephardim, Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 296, 360, No. 490; cf. also his article, "Sephardic Jews in America," in Dr. Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, 1868, p. 218 (edited by Mayer Sulzberger, Esq.).

‡ כ' המאמרים *i. e.* clavem Aphorismorum Talmudicorum MS. video memorari in catalogo librorum R. Isaaci Aboab, p. 16, n. 1.

§ See Dr. Felsenthal's query, *l. c.*

‖ See Dr. Kayserling's article in this publication, pp. 16 and 17, and his *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica* (Strassburg, 1890), p. 55.

¶ We find on record only a *Pedro Lagarto*, a Portuguese prelate and theologian (1524–1590), mentioned in Hoefer's *Nouv. Biog. Générale*, *s. v.*, and in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopaedia of Bibl., Theol. and Eccles. Literature*, vol. XII, p. 646[a]. Can *Elias Legardo*, cited by Dr. Adler in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, p. 108, as living in Virginia (?) in 1621, be of the same stock?

** Not *Menchorro*, as in de los Rios, *Estudios sobre los Judios de España* (Madrid, 1848), p. 568.

lived in Brazil at about the same time. Barrios speaks of him in his *Relac. de los Poetas Españoles*, p. 58:

> "*Eliahu* [*Eliau*] *Machorro de apolinea cumbre*
> *A Holanda y à Brasil dio clara lumbre.*"

He is named in connection with his kinsmen Abraham and Moses Machorro, the former praised by the same famous authority as "one who mounted Parnassus," equally skilful in the use of the pen and the harp. At the end of a sonnet in his *Opuscula* he says:

> "*Con la flauta de Thalia*
> *Machorro eleva al Parnasso*
> *En el poetica passo,*
> *Que da vozes de energia.*"*

Both are said to have been members of the literary society *Temime Derech*. Moses and Salomon Machorro lived in 1675 in Amsterdam.†

The polemical writer, or rather apologist, Jacob de Andrade Velosino, was also an American author, a native of Brazil. We cannot tell what connection there is between him and Isaac Vellosino (or Velozino), who, according to Wolf,‡ preached a sermon at the consecration of the great Amsterdam synagogue;[10] this and other orations delivered on the same occasion are published in one volume (1675). About our author's life and circumstances little, if anything,

* See Dr. M. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 296, 360, 361, Nos. 491, 492; his article in Leeser's *Occident, l. c.*, p. 218, and the notes in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 287.

† Cf. also D. H. De Castro's *De Synagoge . . . te Amsterdam* (S. Gravenhage, 1875), p. lv. M. Roest, *Catalog . . . Almanzi* (Amst. 1868), p. 353, mentions a Jac. De Daniel *Machorre*.

‡ *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, pp. 470–471 and p. 561, No. MCLXXXVII[b], *s. v.* ר׳ יצחק ווילוסינו; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852–60), p. 1159, No. 5438; Kayserling, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vol. III (Berlin, 1860), p. 58, n. 1; *Bibl. Jued. Kanzelredner*, Beilage, p. 42; cf. also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X, p. 448; Emanuel Hecht's *Handbuch der Israelitische Geschichte, etc.*, ed. Kayserling (Leipzig, 1879), p. 125; and Appendix I to this paper.

is known, and that little, so important for our theme, we again owe to Kayserling.* He was born at Pernambuco in 1657, of Portuguese parents, and after the Portuguese recovery of Brazil from the Dutch he repaired to The Hague, where, as also later on in Antwerp, he gained much renown for his successful medical cures.† His first work, still extant in MS., was written against his former co-religionist, Benedict Spinoza. When, after the death of the famous Amsterdam philosopher, a stormy reaction against his philosophical system set in, Jacob also joined the army of antagonists with his dissertation, *Theologo Religioso contra el Theologo Politico de Ben. de Espinosa.* Dr. Kayserling regards this as quite a unique production, inasmuch as it throws light on the attitude held by the scholarly class of the Spanish Portuguese Jews of Holland towards the works of Spinoza, a question entirely ignored in the history of philosophy. We learn furthermore that it was Velosino who revised and remodeled Morteira's Hebrew thesis on *Torath Moshe Emeth*, in whose spirit he composed his own polemical essay.‡ At any rate we have in Jacob de Andrade Velosino an American, author, philosopher and physician.

Another work on a similar topic,§ after traveling in various countries of Europe, has at last drifted to the continent where its author was born, to be buried amongst other treasures of unpublished literature in the library of Mr. Gerson Kursheedt. Mr. D. A. de Sola described its contents in the London *Jewish Chronicle*, of October 21st, 1859, No. 253, and promised to publish extracts in English, which, however, was never fulfilled (*ibid.*, *l. c.* p. 36).

*See his article, "Jacob de Andrade Velosino" in Steinschneider, *Hammazkir*, vol. III, pp. 58, 59; cf. also the same writer's references in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift für die Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judth.*, vol. IX (Leipzig, 1860), p. 317, and in *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 296.

† Cf. Barbosa, *Bibl. Lusitana*, vol. II, p. 468.

‡ Cf. Barbosa, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 469; *ap.* Kayserling, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. III, p. 59, n. 4.

§ *Hebräische Bibliographie*, *l. c.*, vol. III, pp. 36, 59 and notes.

In Jamaica two other men, each in his own way, worked for the glory of Judaism. One was Josijahu Pardo,* the son-in-law of Saul Levi Morteira, of Amsterdam, where until 1674 he acted as *Chacham* (Rabbi) of the institute Chonen Dallim, founded in 1667, and also of the Jeziba de los Pintos and Gemilluth Chassadim. In 1674 he went in the same capacity to Curaçoa, and afterward (in 1683) to Jamaica.[11]† His son David Pardo was one of the first Rabbis of Surinam, and died in 1717.‡

At Jamaica, in Pardo's time, lived one of the greatest of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews during that period. His name was Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna.[12] Although other contemporaries were sufferers for their conscience sake, yet Laguna bore more than all. He was the incarnation of the Wandering Jew. Persecuted in his earliest youth, he became acquainted with the instruments of torture, with the subterranean dungeon, then the lot of his co-religionists for their adherence to the faith. Having escaped in secret and left Spain and Europe, his troubles did not cease and he found no rest this side of the grave. In Jamaica he enjoyed at least a momentary respite and breathed more freely. He had saved none of his earthly treasures; the little he had he lost by fire. He was poor and alone in a strange land, with the fear of a pursuer ever present. The Psalms offered him consolation. Like many a predecessor and successor, he read them in his leisure hours, and their complainings soothed his grief. Laguna sang and translated them. His translation is perhaps one of the most remarkable productions of Jewish-Spanish literature. It was the fruit of 23 years' labor,

* Not Joseph as in Kayserling's *Sephardim*, p. 296, Leeser's *Occident*, *l. c.* p. 219.

† Cf. Dr. M. Kayserling's *Sephardim* (Leipzig, 1859), p. 296; *Occident*, *l. c.*; his notes in Frankl's *Monatsschrift*, etc., vol. VIII, p. 389, vol. IX, p. 398, vol. X, p. 433; McClintock and Strong's *Encyclopædia*, etc., vol. VII, p. 669^{b}, *s. v.* Pardo, No. 9.

‡ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, vol. III, p. 206; Kayserling, *l. c.*, vol. VIII, p. 389; not as in *Monatsschrift*, vol. VIII, p. 211, note 5.

and 23 years more elapsed amidst wars and troubles (as he says in his preface) before he could publish it. He called it the faithful picture of his life—*Espejo fiel de vidas**—and so in truth it was. Of the studies, the griefs and the circumstances in which his work originated he tells us in the following lines:

A las musas inclinado
He sido desde mi infancia:
La adolescencia en la Francia
Sagrada escuela me ha dado
En España algo han limado
Las artes mi juventud:
Ojos abriendo en virtud,
Sali de la Inquisicion:
Hoy Jamaica en cancion
Los salmos dá á mi laud.

To the muses I inclined
Already from my infancy;
My youthful years were passed in France,
Where schools of learning oped for me.
The arts I learned to know in Spain,
And darkest dungeons, too.
With force I broke my prison-door
And 'scaped the bloody Inquisition.
Here in Jamaica do I sing
The glory of Almighty God.

Abraham Jacob Enriques Pimentel, a resident of London and one of the most celebrated men of his day, thus speaks in his preface to the *Espejo*: "Laguna was actuated by pious zeal. When he saw that our brethren who have fled from Spanish and Portuguese persecutions hither to London were compelled to pray in Spanish because of their ignorance of the Hebrew, he translated the divine work of the Psalms

* Printed in London, 5480, *i. e.* 1720; not 1742, as De Rossi, *Dizzionario*, Germ. vers. by Dr. C. H. Hamberger (Leipzig, 1839), p. 185, *s. v. Lopez Laguna*, and other bibliographers have it. For full title and other details in this connection, see M. Roest's בית הספר, etc. (Amsterdam, 1868), p. 262, *s. v.* Laguna.

out of the holy tongue into this beautiful and clear Spanish, in this tasteful style, in these sweet verses." David Nieto, the chief Rabbi of London, who wrote on the Jewish Calendar and against the Inquisition, and who was temporarily deprived of his office on the suspicion of Spinozism in his discourses, wrote a glowing encomium on the book. Those who wrote poetry themselves received it with applause. The following poets have celebrated it in song: David Chaves, Abraham Gomez de Silveyra, Jacob Enriquez Pimentel, Abraham Pimentel, R. Mondejar, Nuñes de Almeida, his wife D. Manuela Nuñes de Almeida, Samson Guideon, Moses Manuel Fonseca de Pina, Abraham Bravo, Jacob de Sequeira Sumada, D. Sara de Fonseca Pinto y Pimentel, D. Bienvenida Cohen Belmonte, and the author's two sons, Jacob Lopez Laguna and Daniel Lopez Laguna.

The larger number of these persons probably resided in London. In the translation of the Psalms, Laguna permitted himself to be carried away by his hatred of the Inquisition and inserted passages and ideas not in the original. Hence his work is the picture of his life, his persecutions, sufferings and griefs. In the 10th Psalm he alludes to the Inquisition. In other instances he refers to the distressed condition of Israel and prays for divine succor. He not only infused his ideas into the work, but also successfully imitated the measure of oriental poetry. His version of the 86th Psalm is an especially fine illustration of this tendency.

We do not know whether Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna ended his days in Jamaica or in the city where his *Espejo* appeared and where his two sons died. Suffice it to say that he lived and wrote in Jamaica his masterpieces of inspired poetry.[13]

Nothing more is to be chronicled on the literary activity of the Jews in America until we reach 1735, in which year the first Hebrew grammar in America,* written by a Jew,

* I have prepared an article descriptive of Monis's first Hebrew manual, which I hope to present to this Society at the next session.

was published. A copy of this work is in the library of the Honorable Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, to whom the writer is indebted for the correct title. It runs as follows: "דִּקְדּוּק לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet. A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue, Being An Essay To bring the Hebrew Grammar into English, to Facilitate the Instruction of all those who are desirous of acquiring a clear Idea of this Primitive Tongue by their own studies; In order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the Sacred Oracles of the Old Testament, according to the Original. And published more especially for the use of the Students of Harvard College at Cambridge, in New England. נֶחְבַּר וְהוּגַּת בְּעֵינֵן נִכְרִין עַל יְדֵי יְהוּדָה מוֹנִיס Compared and accurately Corrected, By Judah Monis, M. A., Boston, N. E. Printed by Jonas Green, and are to be sold by the Author at his House in Cambridge, MDCCXXXV."

Another copy was sold at the auction sale of the famous collection of books belonging to Mr. John Wylie Barrow, for $10. (See the *Catalogue of the Books contained in the Barrow Library* (New York, 1888), p. 71, No. 535.) Hannah Adams furnishes us with the following items concerning his career and apostasy:

"Judah Monis, a Jewish convert to the Christian religion, was admitted a public teacher at Harvard University. He is stated to have been a native of Algiers, who probably received his education in Italy, though we know nothing of him till his arrival in this country. But after he came to Boston he seems to have been soon invited to fill the office of Hebrew instructor in the University, where he was settled March 27th, 1722. Before he could be admitted, it was rendered necessary by the statutes that he should change his religion, which he professes to have done with perfect disinterestedness, though he continued till his death to observe seventh day as the Sabbath. From the address delivered upon the occasion by the Rev. Dr. Coleman of Boston it may be suspected that doubts were entertained of the sincerity of

his declaration. The expressions, 'Is your heart right with God?' 'We cannot be content with good professions,' etc., etc., show no very strong confidence in his integrity. However, it is certain he always sustained an unblemished character and was well contented with his condition. He married at Cambridge; and when death deprived him at a very advanced age of the society of his wife, he resigned his office and retired to Northborough, where he resided with her relations. He died in 1764, at the age of eighty-one years, forty of which he spent in his office."*

Here she interpolates a rather dubious note, to which no authority is named. "It is said," she remarks (*l. c.* n. 1), "that at the time of his death he was attended by several clergymen, to whom he professed his firm belief in the Christian religion and his assured hope of salvation by Christ. One of the divines observed to him, 'Now, good father, you will go to Abraham's bosom.' 'No,' he replied, 'he was but a Jew; I will go to Christ, for he is my only hope.'" We believe this to be an absurd fable, invented purposely by the lady, whose unsubstantiated facts are not very reliable.

"Monis," we read (*l. c.*) in conclusion, "bequeathed a small sum to be distributed among seven clergymen then living in the vicinity; and left a fund, the interest of which was to be divided among ministers in indigent circumstances; and the remainder of his estate, which was considerable, he gave to the relations of his wife. His printed works are, a discourse delivered at his baptism; one entitled 'The Truth,' another, 'The Whole Truth,' and a third, 'Nothing but the Truth,' and a Hebrew grammar."†

This then is the first Jewish publication which was issued by the New England press.

We must not omit to refer, in this connection, to a still earlier record of literary activity in the United States, as

* *Monthly Anthology*, 1810, p. 59, quoted in her *History of the Jews*, etc., London, 1818, p. 461.

† Cf. Whitney's *History of Worcester*, p. 272, quoted *in loco*.

preserved for us in the diary of Mr. Benjamin Sheftall, one of the pioneers of Savannah, who since his arrival in Georgia noted in his journal events of importance which occurred in the Jewish community. It is, to our knowledge, the very first attempt to write the history of the Jews that have settled in any part of America.* "The highly interesting facts which I am about to narrate," writes the grandson of the author (*a. l.*), "are derived from authentic sources. First, from the writings of my grandfather, Mr. Benjamin Sheftall, who recorded in the Hebrew language and translated them into English at the request of his son. Second, from the writings of his son, Levi Sheftall, Esq., who, after his father's decease, recorded every important event connected with the condition of the Israelites—arrivals, departures, marriages, births, deaths, etc., to the 1st of July in the year 1808. . . . On the first page of one of the MSS. my father, in his own handwriting, states: 'That it might be known how I came to a knowledge of the contents of this book; my father, who was one of the number who arrived at Savannah, 11th July, 1733, kept a book, of which this is a copy, of all the Jews that came here and went away. I was anxious to have it, and my father translated it into English from the Hebrew.'"

It is interesting to know that this valuable historical chronicle was originally compiled in Hebrew. Whether it is still extant among the private papers of the Sheftall family we cannot tell. The facts given in the journal being for the most part known, we refrain from giving extracts.

* Extracts from the original MS. were communicated in the *Occident* of Dr. Leeser (vol. I, 1844, pp. 381–384, 486–489) by Mordecai Sheftall, Sen., and recently republished by Dr. Cyrus Adler in his article, "Sources of American-Jewish History" (*Menorah Monthly*), vol. VII, New York, 1889, pp. 253–257); see also Isaac Markens' *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 45 *seq.*; Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, 2d ed., New York, 1893, p. 68 *seq.*); *American Jews' Annual* for 1889, p. 9 *seq.*

In 1763, as Prof. Morris Jastrow pointed out in his article, "The first publication of a Jewish character printed in Philadelphia," was issued in that city, a sermon of Moses Mendelssohn's, delivered by his teacher, Rabbi David Hirsch Fraenkel (David Herschel Fränckel), Chief Rabbi of Berlin, for whom, at his congregation's request, the "German Socrates" not unfrequently composed German lectures, the Rabbi not being sufficiently well versed in the language to write them in the vernacular, as Dr. Kayserling informs us in his interesting biography.* It is a thanksgiving sermon preached by Fraenckel on the 10th of December, 1757, five days after Frederick the Great defeated the Austrians at Leuthen, Silesia. Dr. Kayserling tells us that for 100 years this valuable relic was considered as lost, and that the original is so scarce that only four copies of it are known to be extant, namely, in the state library of Zürich, in the royal Court Library of Munich, in the library of the Berlin congregation and in the collection of books belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. He discovered it in the Züricher Stadtbibliothek (where it was probably placed through Lavater), and re-edited it under the title: *Zum Siegesfeste. Dankpredigt und Danklieder von Moses Mendelssohn. Eine Reliquie. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Einleitung versehen* (Berlin, Louis Gerschel, 1866), of which the writer possesses a copy. In the introduction he collected everything relative to our topic, and the opinions of Lessing and Nicolai on Mendelssohn's homiletic efforts (ascribed to his teacher) are given. It is important, in view of Dr. Felsenthal's statement,† that another sermon, in commemoration of Frederick the Great's victory over the combined forces of France and Germany, won at Rossbach, Saxony, on November 5th, 1757, just one month before the victory at Leuthen, was preached by the Chief

* *Moses Mendelssohn, sein Leben und seine Werke*, 1st ed., Leipzig, 1862, p. 145; see also Dr. Felsenthal's remarks in *Pub. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 31–32.

† *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 32.

Rabbi, David Fränkel, on Thursday, November 10th, 1757, in the synagogue at Berlin, as Mendelssohn himself details (cf. *Zum Siegesfeste*, etc., p. iv). Thus Dr. Kayserling's data (in his *Moses Mendelssohn*, etc., p. 145), as also the entry made by Fuerst, *Bibl. Judaica*, vol. II (Leipz., 1851), p. 363, are perfectly correct. Only one copy, in private possession, is known to be in existence.* How the German original drifted to America we cannot tell. Probably Mendelssohn himself, or one of his friends in Berlin, sent it thither. It is well known that a kind-hearted Jewish gentleman, Heimann Bamberger by name, protected and befriended Mendelssohn when the latter was a penniless Talmud student, and it might be that his generous patron, proud of the then budding genius of his protégé, forwarded a copy of the *Dankpredigt* to his namesake or relative, the German trader, Arnold Bamberger, who is admitted to be the first Jewish settler in Philadelphia,[15] to be translated into English. By whom the translation was prepared is not stated in the preface of the printer, Andrew Steuart, nor is the booklet mentioned outside of Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, 1685–1784, Nos. 1894 and 4634.†

Speaking of this, it is well worthy of note that in 1750 a sermon, pronounced at Curaçoa by Samuel Mendes De Solla (or De Solas), then Rabbi of the Jewish congregations Mikwé Israel and Nevé Salom, was published at Amsterdam, entitled: *Triunfo da Uniao contra o pernicioso vicio da discordia*, in reference to some differences which arose between the Rabbi and certain members of the community. M. Roest, the Dutch bibliographer, is the only authority who draws attention to this and other interesting facts, in his valuable *Catalog einer werthvollen Sammlung hebräischer und jüdischer*

*For details connected with the American edition of the sermon delivered in honor of the Leuthen victory, see Jastrow *l. c.* and Dr. Kayserling's article, "Die erste in Amerika gedruckte jüdische Schrift," published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* of September 22d, 1893, p. 451.

†*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 63, note.

Bücher und Handschriften (Amsterdam, 1870).[16] De Solas published other sermons and wrote a contribution to the Purim liturgy[17] which still exists in MS.

In 1780, J. Lopez Da Fonseca, who seems to have officiated in the capacity of Rabbi or Chazan of the congregation at Curaçoa, published a sermon in Spanish, probably in Amsterdam, the contents of which Roest fails to summarize.[18] Whether he is a descendant of Joseph Nuñez de Fonseca, a merchant of Curaçoa who in 1652 obtained a grant of land to found a Jewish colony on that island,* or is related to Moses Lopez Da Fonseca, the second Reader of congregation Shearith Israel in the city of New York,† we cannot at present ascertain.

Of more than passing interest is Isaac Pinto's English version of the Sephardic ritual published in 1766, whose full title reads: "Prayers for Shabbath, Rosh-Hashanah, and Kippur, or the Sabbath, the beginning of the year, and the Day of Atonements; with the Amidah and Musaph of the Moadim, or solemn seasons; according to the order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Translated by Isaac Pinto, and for him printed by John Holt, in New York, A. M. 5526."

Only Steinschneider‡ and the American chapters of Lady Magnus's *Outlines of Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 347–348), make mention of this important work. On the reverse of the title-page is printed the publisher's advertisement, containing directions for the reading of transcribed Hebrew proper names. This is followed by the editor's preface (p. iii), which, taking the fact into consideration that the volume before us is the first publication of a Jewish character

* Cf. E. B. O'Callaghan's *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 289, 329–330 (Dutch MSS.); Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, 2d ed., New York, 1893, p. 9.

† See N. Taylor Phillips' Family History of the Reverend David Mendez Machado, in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 50.

‡ In *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. VII, 1864, p. 23; cf. also *Jewish Chronicle*, London, No. 465.

issued in New York City, is worthy of being reproduced in full. "A Veneration for the Language," says Pinto, "sacred by being that in which it pleased Almighty God to reveal himself to our Ancestors, and a desire to preserve it, in firm Persuasion that it will again be re-established in Israel; are probably leading Reasons for our performing divine Service in Hebrew: But that, being imperfectly understood by many, by some, not at all; it has been necessary to translate our Prayers, in the Language of the Country wherein it hath pleased the divine Providence to appoint our Lot. In Europe, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews have a Translation in Spanish, which as they generally understand, may be sufficient; but that not being the Case in the British Dominions in America, has induced me to attempt a Translation in English, not without Hope that it will tend to the Improvement of many of my Brethren in their Devotion; and if it answer that Good Intention, it will afford me the Satisfaction of having contributed towards it. In Justice to the Learned and Reverend H. H. R. Ishac Nieto, I must acknowledge the very great Advantage I have received from his Elegant Spanish Translation of the Prayers of Rosh-Hashanah and Kippur: From which, by particular Desire, I have taken the Liberty of translating his Exhortation, and prefixing it to these Sheets. Notwithstanding my utmost Care, I make no doubt this Translation has its Errors, and the Stile I am sensible has its Defects, which I hope will meet with Indulgence from the candid Reader." Then follows (on p. iv) the English version of Nieto's Exhortation, which we forbear to cite on account of its length. The text of the prayers runs from p. 1–189, and we have in conclusion (p. 190) a brief table of contents, a list of "errata" and of "words occuring in the preceeding Sheets, and are not there explained." The translation seems to be totally free from foreign expressions and is characterized throughout by a dignity and simplicity of diction which is on the whole admirable. The translator's rendering is at times rather free, and he, being conscious of the fact,

adds a commentary to such passages, wherein the literal meaning of the original Hebrew is given. It is curious to find in an American prayer-book (pp. 20–21) a "Prayer for the King," invoking the blessing and protection of God for "our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King George, our gracious Queen Charlotte, their Royal Highnesses George Prince of Wales, the Princess Dowager of Wales, and all the Royal Family." In a foot-note to this phrase, Pinto remarks that "In the Colonies, after the King and Royal Family, the Governor and Magistrates are added." On Rosh-Hashanah, before the blowing of the Shofar, it seems to have been customary for the Hazan to recite a prayer for the king and the congregation (p. 76).

It remains to be said, in conclusion, that in the copy of the work before us is added a prayer, written no doubt, to judge from the style and calligraphy, at least a hundred years ago by some person who was officially connected with a congregation either in New York or elsewhere. On the first blank page (and in several places in the body of the book) is inscribed the name of the owner. The volume was "Presented to Isaac H. Judah, Richmond, Septem^{r} 16th, 1797," and above his name is traced that of Myer M. Cohen, in the same hand. A Benjamin S. Judah is one of the signers of a congregational document dated New York, 20 Iyar, 5551, or 1791.*

And now we must determine who Isaac Pinto, the editor of the first English prayer-book in America, was. Steinschneider (*l. c.*) is inclined to identify him with the famous Isaac Pinto spoken of by De Rossi and others † as author of a *Treatise on Luxury* and a *Defense of the Jews against Voltaire's statements in vol. VI, ch. I of his works*, published at Amsterdam in 1762. He also wrote on *Cards* and *Arguments against Materialism* (Haag, 1774). But this versatile author lived at Bordeaux,[19] whilst our translator was in all

* Cf. N. T. Phillips's paper in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 51.
† *Dizionario Storico*, Germ. ed. by Hamberger, p. 265.

probability a resident of New York. So this hypothesis we must dismiss. Koenen tells us of the bravery of Isaac Pinto, captain of Jewish volunteers in the village of Savannah, in Surinam, in 1712;* and among the numerous members of the Pinto family so thoroughly treated in N. T. Phillips's article † we find one, who died January 17th, 1701, aged seventy years. He is without doubt the author of the book under consideration, which he compiled in his 45th year. All the Pintos[20] were connected with the Portuguese congregation Shearith Israel in New York City. Joseph Jesurun Pinto ‡ was its leader from 1759 to 1766, hence he did not die in 1763, as Daly assumes (*l. c.*). We know from the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* compiled by Messrs. Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf (London, 1888, p. 174) that the Mahamad would not allow a translation to be printed in England.§

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald was kind enough to call my attention to another interesting publication of Pinto's, a copy of which may be found in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to whose worthy librarian, Mr. Stone, we are indebted for its discovery. It is a prayer delivered at the synagogue in New York in 1760, bearing the title:

"The Form of Prayer which was performed at the Jews' Synagogue, in the City of New York, on Thursday, October 23, 1760: Being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Reducing of Canada to His Majesty's Dominions. Composed by D. R. Joseph Jesurun Pinto, in the Hebrew Language: And translated into English by a Friend to Truth. New York.

* *Geschiedenis der Joden*, etc., pp. 294–5; Kayserling in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. VIII, p. 208; Hahn, *l. c.* p. 36.

† *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 49–51.

‡ Not Joseph Isaac Jerushalem Pinto, as Judge Daly, *Settlement*, etc., p. 56, has it.

§ Cf. Lady Magnus's *Outlines of Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 348.

Printed and Sold by W. Weyman, at his New Printing Office, in Broad Street, not far from the Exchange, 1760. (Price 4d.)"

From the descriptive notes given me by Dr. Friedenwald, I learn that after common service in the morning, psalms cxvii, cxviii, cxxxvi, lxxv, xxxiii, viii, cxi and cl were given out by the reader to be sung by the congregation, after which a prayer was said by the cantor, invoking the aid of the Lord "to bring Power, Strength and Wisdom to King George II's Generals and then to reduce Canada to the Happy Dominion of His Sacred Majesty."

After the prayer, psalms cxliv and lxvii were sung by the reader and congregation, and then the reader pronounced the blessing for the king and royal family and for the president and the council and the magistrates of the province of New York, "as it's done every Sabbath and Holiday thro' the Year," and to which a special addition was made for this occasion.

After this, psalms xxi, xxx and xcvi were sung by the reader and congregation, as also the last verses of psalms cxlv, cxv and xxix; then the common service of the day was continued as usual with hymns as on festivals, which ended the morning prayers.

In the afternoon, after the regular service, the reader gave out psalms i, xlvi, xcviii, and then the 25th chapter of Isaiah, verses 1–10. Then followed the blessing for king and royal family, and the whole ended with psalm cxxxiii. An interesting note at the end of the booklet reads:

"N. B. The foregoing prayer may be seen in Hebrew, at the Composer's Lodgings." Apparently original Hebrew scholarship was a curiosity in New York City in 1766.

An interesting personage, for reason of his intimacy with Dr. Stiles, president of Yale College, is Hayim Isaac Karigel. He published:

"A Sermon preached at the Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, called 'The Salvation of Israel,' on the Day of Pen-

tecost, or Feast of Weeks, the 6th day of the month Sivan, the year of the Creation 5533, or May 28, 1773: being the Anniversary of the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai. By the Venerable Hocham [Haham], the learned Rabbi, Haym Isaac Karigel, of the city of Hebron, near Jerusalem, in the Holy Land. Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and Sold by S. Southwick, in Queen Street, 1773."

This sermon, originally preached in Spanish, according to a MS. note in the copy now in the Leeser Library at Philadelphia (presented to Rev. Dr. Isaac Leeser by Rebecca Gratz), was translated into English by Abraham Lopez, a relative no doubt to Aaron Lopez, who was Parnass of the congregation in that city.* Another copy was recently presented to the American Jewish Historical Society by Mr. Mendes Cohen.† The author is probably the son of Rabbi Chajim Moses ben Abraham Karigol (חיים משה קאריגאל) (or Carregal) in Jerusalem, who flourished at the beginning of the 18th century. He is well known as the editor of Moses Ventura's ימין משה (Amsterdam, 1718), and other Rabbinical works by Abraham Misrachi and Israel Naǧara (Amsterdam, 1718) enumerated by Fuerst (*Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. II, p. 171, Leipzig, 1851), and M. Roest.‡ Hannah Adams has preserved for us the following character-sketch of Karigal in her *History of the Jews* (London, 1818, pp. 461–463):

"Previous to the American Revolution, while the Jews convened at their synagogue in Rhode Island, the late President Stiles commenced an acquaintance with Haijim Carigal,

*See Kohler's article, "The Lopez and Rivera Families of Newport," in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 101–106; Daly's *Settlement of Jews in N. A.*, N. Y. 1893², pp. 77–79, 82–89; Hahn, *l. c.* pp. 38–39; Isaac Markens' *Hebrews in America* (N. Y. 1888), pp. 33–45; A. E. Frankland, "The Jews and their graves at Newport," in *American Jews' Annual* for 1889, pp. 6–8; A. G. Daniels, *History of the Jews of Boston and New England* (Boston, 1892), p. 11 *sq.*

†See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 120.

‡ *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*, vol. I, pp. 255, 577, Amsterdam, 1875.

a rabbi who had lately arrived in the city. Having traveled very extensively in the eastern world, and being a man of observation, learning and intelligence, his conversation was highly entertaining and instructive. He was born at Hebron, and educated there and at Jerusalem. He had traveled all over the Holy Land and visited many cities in Asia and Europe. The doctor was greatly delighted with his society, and had frequent intercourse with him for the purpose of acquiring the pronunciation of the Hebrew; of ascertaining the meaning of ambiguous expressions in the original of the Old Testament; of learning the usages of the modern Jews; of conversing on past events relating to this extraordinary nation, as recorded in sacred history, and of tracing its future destiny by the light of prophecy. They cultivated a mutual friendship when together, and corresponded in Hebrew when apart."* This close friendship between the Palestinian rabbi and the college president is referred to also by H. T. Tuckerman in an article on "Graves at Newport," published in *Harper's Monthly* (vol. XXXIX, p. 372 ff.), where we read that "Dr. Stiles loved to stroll along the Parade, discussing some point of Oriental wisdom with the learned Rabbi Isaac Carigal."† The same is related of the Rev. Isaac Touro, who is said to have been upon terms of cordial intimacy with Dr. Stiles, to whom he imparted a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue (Daly's work, *l. c.* p. 81, n. 87). That Dr. Stiles was a thorough Hebraist is demonstrated by the fact that his personal copy of the Bible was annotated with learned exegetical comments, as Rev. W. Willner told me a few years ago. That gentleman has collected from MS. notes of Dr. Stiles some interesting references to Jews and Judaism.

"The rabbi," continues Hannah Adams (*l. c.* pp. 462–63), "not long after his arrival, attended his worship by agreement, and heard him discourse in an affectionate manner on

* Cf. Dr. Holmes's *Life of President Stiles.*

† See Kohler's edition of Judge Daly's *Settlement of Jews in N. A.*, N. Y., 1893, p. 81, n. 85.

the past dispensations of God's providence towards his chosen people; on his promised design of rendering them an exalted nation in the latter-day glory of the Messiah's kingdom; and on the duty of Christians, and of all nations, to desire a participation in their future glorious state." "So catholic was the intercourse between this learned Jew and learned Christian that they often spent hours together in conversation; and the information which the extensive travels of the Jew enabled him to give, especially concerning the Holy Land, was a rich entertainment to his Christian friend. The civilities of the rabbi were more than repaid. The doctor very frequently attended the worship of the synagogue at Newport, not only when Rabbi Carigal officiated, but at the ordinary service before his arrival and after his departure."[21]

"With six other rabbis of less eminence he became acquainted, and showed them every civility, while he maintained a friendly communication with the Jews in general in Newport. Such rare and unexpected attentions from a Christian minister of distinction could not but afford peculiar gratification to a people conscious of being a byword among all nations. To him they accordingly paid every attention in return, and expressed peculiar pleasure in admitting him into their families and into their synagogues."

"Dr. Holmes in concluding his account judiciously remarks that 'this civility and catholicism towards the Jews is worthy of imitation. It is to be feared that Christians do not what ought to be done towards the conversion of this devoted people. While admitted into most countries for the purposes of trade and commerce, instead of being treated with that humanity and tenderness which Christianity should inspire, they are often persecuted and condemned as unworthy of notice or regard. Such treatment tends to prejudice them against our holy religion and to establish them in their infidelity" (*sic*).

The Jews of Surinam have an extensive and interesting history. I refrain from giving here even a brief outline of the numerous incidents relative to their settlement and sub-

sequent prosperity, their bravery in times of revolt, and their success particularly in planting; for since several months I have been gathering data for a monograph on the subject, which I hope to have ready by the next meeting of the Society. In the meanwhile, Dr. Felsenthal has written "Some Additional Notes on the Surinam Jews" (see *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 29–30) which will supply all demands until the presentation of my paper.*

The first sign of literary activity of the Jews of Surinam was given in the year 1781, according to Lady Magnus (*Outlines of Jewish History*, Philad., 1890, p. 338), when our co-religionists in the village of Savannah sent a letter of recognition to the celebrated friend of Moses Mendelssohn, Christian Wilhelm Dohm, for his brave championship of the cause of Jewish emancipation.† Whether the letter was

* It will suffice, furthermore, to name Koenen's valuable resumé in his *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1843), pp. 286–307; Dr. M. Kayserling's essay, "Die Juden in Surinam," in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. VIII, 1859, pp. 205–13; Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews* (London, 1818), pp. 455–458; I. M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten* (Berlin, 1828), VIII, pp. 266–67; Lindo's *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848), pp. 374, 381–3; Dr. Hahn's article (*l. c.*), p. 36; Rev. E. M. Myers' *Centurial* (New York, 1890), pp. 105, 109, 111; Lady Magnus's *Outlines of Jewish History* (Phila., 1890), pp. 337–339; G. P. Zimmermann in *Bullet. de la Société de Géogr.* 1880, p. 97ff.; E. Carmoly's *Revue Orientale*, vol. II (1843–1844), pp. 220 and 269, vol. III (1845), 200; *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. I (Paris, 1880), pp. 309–310; Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles* (Germ. version ed. by K. Mann, Frankfurt a. M. 1855), pp. 320–322; J. Alexander, *The Jews, their Past, Present and Future* (London, 1870), pp. 151–152. The literature on Surinam is inexhaustible. Prof. Gottheil showed me a pamphlet a few months ago wherein the catalogue of publications on Dutch Guiana alone numbers several pages. It is simply loss of time and labor to refer to such works as Van Kampen's *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa;* Van Rees's *Geschiedenis der Koloniale Politiek van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden;* Hartsinck's excellent *Beschrijving van Guiana of de wilde Kust in Zuid Amerika*, and numberless other treatises on the Dutch colonies of America.

† Cf. *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, Berlin u. Stettin, 1781; new ed. *ibid.*, 1783 and 1793.

ever published we have no means of ascertaining. In the *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. I (1880), p. 310, the date of this message is 1786, and we are referred to E. Carmoly's *Revue Orientale*, vol. III, p. 200, for particulars. Unfortunately we have no access to that magazine just now. At any rate it is more than probable that 1781 is the correct date, for it corresponds with the year of the publication of the essay. Fuerst in his *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1849), p. 210, *s. v.* Dohm, says at the end of his literary list "siehe Is. Nassy," but forgets to mention the latter altogether—an omission very annoying to us, for it might have been a clew to the authorship of the reply to Dohm. Isaac Nasci (or Nasi, Nassy, etc.) was a great man in Surinam, as we shall see presently, and we have every reason to believe that he is the one who drafted that document to the famous German statesman.

In 1785 we have two items of importance to note: one, a manuscript, unedited and marked "extremely rare" by M. Roest in his בית הכפר, *Catalog . . . hebräischer und jüdischer Bücher, Handschriften, etc., . . . nachgelassen von Almanzi, Jacob Emden und M. J. Lewenstein* [of Paramaribo], Amsterdam, 1868, p. 355, No. 5188, which bears the title:

Lofzang op den bleyde dag der inhuldiging van . . . J. G. Wichers, gouverneur-generaal over de colonie v. Suriname, 2 *Juni* 1785, composed by S. J. Rudelsom. It is written in Hebrew and Dutch, twelve pages in quarto. It ought to be in the library of Columbia College, N. Y., whither all the costly books mentioned in Roest's catalogue drifted, but despite a careful search I could not find it.

The other work, though published, is an equally scarce bit of literary curiosity. It was called forth on the one hundredth anniversary of the building of the synagogue Berācha Ve-shalōm (Blessing and Peace), which was celebrated amid the greatest pomp and rejoicing, with festal song and jubilee hymns. The title of this curious book, a copy of which is in the Columbia College library, runs as follows:

"Beschrijving van de plechtigheden, nevens de lofdichten

en gebeden uitgesproken op het eerste Jubelfeest van de Synagogue der Portugeesche Joodsche gemeente, op de Savane in de Colonie Suriname, genaamd Zegen En Vrede, op den 12 den van Wijnmaand 1785, Amsterdam, Hendrik Willem en Cornelis Dronsberg." 1786, 4to.

The title of the Hebrew section reads:

זכר רב ושמחה וששון ליהודים וגם לבני הנכר הנלוים עַל ה׳ במלאת מאת שנה לחנוך בית הכנסת של ק״ק כפרדים ברכה ושלום בקולוניא סורינאם יע״א בשיר שבח ותהלה. קל רנה ותפילה. הנם כתובים בספר הזה ביום ד׳ ח׳ לחדש חשון בשנת להיות ע׳ינ׳ך פקוחות אל הבית הזה לפק. [נדפס באמשטרדם שנת הת׳קכ׳ו]

The booklet contains altogether 12 pages in Hebrew and 40 in Hollandish. The Hebrew text opens with a few select passages from the Psalms, followed by poetic pieces from the pens of בנימין חיים הכהן, יצחק חיים די בריוש, and משה די יהודה פינא (or פינא, or פיוא, the print is not very clear). Prayers and hymns are also included in the appendix. The Dutch text gives a very elaborate account of the festivities on that occasion, of the decorations in the synagogue, of the representative city officials in attendance, and sums up in a few pithy paragraphs the history of the congregation. Scriptural selections and supplications for the welfare of the state and all government magnates, together with other matter of interest, make up the contents of this almost single remnant of South American Jewish literature. Two Dutch poems by P. F. Roos and N. C. Lemmers are of particular value. J. Wallach is the editor of this volume, and we are told in the preface that he was an eye-witness to the impressive ceremonies which took place on that memorable day. It remains to be said that the work in question is comparatively little known.*

So great was the impression made by Dohm's plea for the political amelioration of the Jews that even our distant

*Only Koenen (*Geschiedenis der Joden*, *l. c.* p. 315, n. 1), Kayserling (*Die Juden in Surinam*, *l. c.* p. 210, n. 9), M. Roest (*Catalog einer werthvollen Sammlung hebräischer und jüdischer Bücher und Handschriften*, etc., Amsterdam, 1870, p. 51, No. 913—marked "höchst

brethren of the Jewish Savannah endeavored to show active signs of life by compiling a thorough account of their colony since its foundation to the year 1788. With this purpose in view a company of learned Israelites, of whom it appears David J. C. Nasi (or Isaac Nasi?) was editor-in-chief, collected a great deal of valuable documentary and statistical data, and published in the year 1788 at Paramaribo two stately volumes in French, entitled *Essai sur la Colonie de Surinam, avec l'histoire de la Nation Juive Portugaise y établie, leurs privilèges, immunités et franchises; leur état politique et moral, tant ancien que moderne; la part qu'ils ont eue dans la défense et dans le progrès de la Colonie.* It was translated into Dutch under the title *Geschiedenis der Kolonie Suriname, etc., door een gesclschap gelcerde Joodsche mannen alclaar,* Amsterdam, 1791. It is undoubtedly of great value to us, but is not at present accessible to the writer.*

In 1798 appeared at Paramaribo a volume of essays entitled *Lettre politico-théologico-morale sur les Juifs,* written by the same Isaac Nasi, about whom Hannah Adams transmits the following report of the Rev. Mr. Bentley of Salem (*History of the Jews,* 458–459):

Malouet, the French commissioner, in his account of the Jews of Surinam, remarks: "I became acquainted with two Jews whose erudition and powers are astonishing. The one is named Joseph Barious and the other Isaac Nasci. The

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selten"; *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthalschen Bibliothek* (Amsterdam, 1875, vol. I, p. 738), and Felsenthal (*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 29), make mention of it in essays and catalogues. It is entirely unknown to the bibliographers Benjacob, Fuerst, Steinschneider and Zedner.

*See references in Koenen's *Geschiedenis der Joden,* etc., pp. 9, 276–317; Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews,* London, 1818, p. 455; Kayserling, *l. c.* VIII, p. 212; *Revue des Études Juives,* vol. I (1880), p. 310; P. M. Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Brésil,* etc., p. 204 (La Haye, 1853); J. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* New York and Boston, 1889, vol. VIII, p. 366; Rev. E. M. Myers' *Centurial,* N. Y., 1890, pp. 109, 111, 117; *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 96.

last is an extraordinary man, if we consider that he never has been out of Surinam, where he was born; received no aid but from his own genius, and has risen above the errors of his sect. His knowledge of history is profound, and he has studied methodically Arabic, Chaldean and Rabbinical Hebrew. Yet this man, who passes eight hours every day in his study, and has a correspondence with the most celebrated men in Europe, employs himself as the meanest of his countrymen, in buying and selling old clothes. He has composed a dictionary in the Indian Calibi language, and thinks he finds the themes [elements?] in it to be Hebrew."* Before dismissing the subject of the literary activity of the Jews in Surinam, we beg to call attention to the following chronologically arranged items culled from Roest's בית הספר *Catalog hebräischer und jüdischer Bücher, Handschriften*, etc., Amsterdam, 1868, mostly referring to recent times (pp. 296, 351, 202, 250, 266; Nos. 4383, 5165, 5163, 2801, 3619–3620, 3892):

1804: "*Plechtigheden*, vreugde gezangen en gebeeden in de Hoogd. Joodsche Synagogue Neve Salom, te Suriname, op d. dag d. inhuldig. van Sir Charles Green, Gouverneur Generaal over Suriname, opgesteld en gezongen d. J. M. De Vries, Voorzanger." Paramaribo, 1804, 4to (marked "extremely rare"; ignored by all the bibliographers).

1810: "תפלות ובקשות, Plechtig gebed voor de Hoogd. Joodsche gemeente te Suriname, ter gelegenheid d. dank-, vast- en bededag, op den 22 Aug. 1810. Opgestelt in de Hebr. taal en in 't Nederd. overgebr. d. Juda Machiel De Vries." Hebrew and Hollandish; unpublished MS. of 10 pages, 4to.

1822: שרים (sic.) ותשבחות אשר יושר על ידי הֻבַּח אורי הירלברון שֻׁצּ דקהלתנו לכבוד אדוננו אֲבִרָהֳם דֻּץ פֻּעֲהָ. ראש ומושל הכדינא סרינאמץ (!) ביום אשר בא בתוך בנין הפארתינו נָוֶה שָׁלוֹם היום שנת ה תְּקְפְּגְ ו פֻּק. כיוסד על ידי הצעיר חד מאנשי אוהב שפה (!) עברי טוביה טל לפרט ויתְּפַלל אֲבִרהֳם אל האל״ים.

* Cf. also Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, etc., vol. VIII, p. 267; Kayserling, *l. c.* VIII, 212; *Revue des Études Juives, l. c.*; *Revue Orientale, l. c.*

Dutch title: "Plechtige Vreugde Gezangen, en Gebeden, Verricht in de Hoogduitsche Israëlitische Sinagoge [sic] Neve Salom (:Woning des Vredes:) te Súriname, ter gelegenheid, en op den blydendag der Inhuldiging van Zynen Hoog Edelen Gestrengen. Heer Abraham De Veer, Gouverneur Generaal der gemelde kolonie,—Gezongen door den Erwaarden Heer Philip Gombert Heilbron, Voorzanger dezer gemeente op den 23e December 1822, en opgesteld door den Erwaarden Heer Tobias Tall." This complete title the writer copied from the MS. (unedited) in the library of Columbia College, New York. It is written in Hebrew and Dutch, containing (10 pp.) poems, psalms, prayers, among them an ingenious acrostic on Abraham De Veer, and a somewhat unusual version of the Adon Olam.

1830 (?): *Benedictus, Coenraad*, "Examen voor den nieuw aan te nemen Moël of besnijder der Israël. kinderen. Hierbij gedeeltelijk het mannelijk lid ontleed, ook leersame beschrijving der Besnijdenis en *Circum Cisione* operatie etc. in vragen en antwoorden." Paramaribo, 1830 (?) 8vo; marked "extremely rare" by Roest. Fuerst does not mention it in his *Bibl. Judaica*. Apparently the printing-house which issued this tract did not possess Hebrew type, says Roest, for Hebrew words are filled in the text by the author himself.

1837: "Inwijding der nieuwe synagoge Newé-Sjalom [sic] te Suriname." Paramaribo, 1837, 8vo; marked "very scarce" by Roest, as also the two next ones:

1854: "Inwijding van de verbouwde Synagoge de Ned. Portug.-Isr. gemeente te Paramaribo." *Ibid.*, 1854, 8vo.

1854: "*Gebeden*, treur- en troostgezangen bij de Israël. begravenissen in gebruik. Uit het Hebr." *Ibid.*, 1854, 8vo.

1858: M. Lewenstein, "Intree-predicatie gehouden te Paramaribo." 's Grav. (?) 1858.

There are no doubt other publications by Surinam Jews, such as for instance the few cited by Dr. Kayserling (in *Monatsschrift*, vol. VIII, p. 212), but they are not on Jewish subjects, hence they are not included in this study. All these

writings above cited are important for the study of the development of the colony in Dutch Guiana, and if any of our readers have access to them, we would feel grateful to have our attention called thereto.

In 1788, an anonymous scribe who calls himself a Jew published in Jamaica the following pamphlet, a copy of which is in the late Dr. Cohen's library in Baltimore:

"אמת ואמונה—Reason and Faith; or Philosophical Absurdities, and the Necessity of Revelation. Intended to promote Faith among Infidels and the Unbounded Exercise of Humanity among all Religious Men. By one of the Sons of Abraham to His Brethren." * The Jews of Jamaica were quite prolific in literature in later years.†

David Levi, well known as the author of a Hebrew dictionary called *Lingua Sacra*, in 3 vols. 4to (London, 1785–1787), and for his controversy with Dr. Priestley, published in 1798 at Philadelphia (6mo) *A Defense of the Old Testament. in a series of letters to Thomas Paine.* He was, to our knowledge, the first Jew who vindicated his faith in English.‡ This pamphlet was reprinted from the London edition issued in 1797.

The first American-Jewish Calendar was printed by Moses Lopez, of Newport, in 1806, an annotated copy of which was recently presented by the Misses Phillips to the American Jewish Historical Society.§ For completeness' sake we reproduce the title in full:

* See *Catalogue of a Hebrew Library, being the collection, with a few additions, of the late Joshua I. Cohen, M. D., of Baltimore. Now in the possession of Mrs. Harriett Cohen.* Compiled by Cyrus Adler, Ph. D., etc. Baltimore, 1887, p. 41.

† See for example, Dr. Cyrus Adler's *Catalogue of the Leeser Library*, Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 24, 46.

‡ See an appreciative account of his career in James Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, London, 1875, pp. 228–230; cf. also *Catalogue of Dr. Cohen's Library*, pp. 32–33; *Leeser Library Catalogue*, p. 30; Steinschneider's *Bibliograph. Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 81; Fuerst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. II, p. 236.

§ See *Pub.* No. 1, p. 124.

"Lunar Calendar of the festivals and other days in the year observed by the Israelites, commencing Anno Mundi 5566, and ending in 5619, being a period of 54 years, which, by the solar computation of time, begins September 24, 1805, and will end the 28th of the same month in the year 1859. Together with other Tables useful and convenient. The whole of which having been carefully examined and corrected, its utility has obtained the voluntary acknowledgment and approbation of the Rev. Mr. Seixas, the respectable Hazan of the K. K. Shearith Israel, in New York. By Moses Lopez, of Newport, Rhode Island. (Copyright secured.) Printed at the office of the Newport Mercury, 1806."

Publications of a Jewish character from this time on become more and more frequent. We have, for instance, in 1816, *A Sermon on the death of Rev. Mr. Gershom Mendes Seixas*, preached by Rev. E. N. Carvalho, and printed in 1816 (8vo) at Philadelphia.* In 1817, Solomon Jacob Cohen, of Richmond, Va. (?), issued *Elements of the Jewish Faith translated from the Hebrew* (8vo, 5577.)† In 1818, Major Mordecai M. Noah‡ published a *Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the Synagogue of the K. K. Shearith Israel in the City of New York, on Friday, the 10th of Nisan*, 5578, *corresponding with the 17th of April*, 1818 . . . New York: Printed by C. S. Van Winkle, No. 101 Greenwich Street, 1818.§ In 1820 we find on record another *Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the Synagogue of the Hebrew Congregation Mikva Israel, in the city of Savannah, Georgia, on Friday, the*

* Cf. *Leeser Library Catalogue*, p. 9.

† Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

‡ Whose biography is given in Judge Daly's excellent work on the *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, New York, 1893, pp. 104–145, and most recently by J. D. Eisenstein in the new Hebrew magazine *Nēr Ha'ma'arabi* (The Western Light), edited by Ab. Dobsewitz (New York, 1895), vol. I, No. II, pp. 4–9.

§ *Leeser Library Catalogue*, p. 43; *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, p. 124; No. 3, pp. 94–96.

10th of Ab, 5580; corresponding with the 21st of July, 1820. By Jacob de la Motta, M. D., Savannah. Printed by Russel & Edes, 1820,* and an anonymous work mentioned in the *Cohen Library Catalogue*, p. 42, entitled:

Israel Vindicated: Being a Refutation of the Calumnies propagated respecting the Jewish Nation: in which the Objects and Views of the American Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews are investigated. By an Israelite. 8vo (New York, 1820). M. Roest in his *Catalog hebr. u. jüd. Bücher u. Handschriften*, etc. (Amst., 1868), p. 251, has the date 1823.

The first Jewish periodical in America, let me say in conclusion, was published at New York in 1824 and 1825 (8vo), by its editor, S. H. Jackson. It was entitled, *The Jew—being a Defense of Judaism.* There are two copies known to be extant, one in the Leeser Library (*Catal.* p. 46), and the other in Dr. Cohen's collection (*Catal.* p. 42). Subsequent issues of the press we do not deem necessary to cite in this tentative sketch of Jewish literature in America, which we know is far from being complete.

Notes.

1. "Brazil, the most blessed empire on earth," says Dr. Kayserling (*Sephardim*, etc., Leipzig, 1859, p. 296; "Sephardic Jews in America," in Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, p. 218), "was the only portion of the New World where the Jews, for a time at least, were not burned. Strictly speaking, Brazil was first colonized and cultivated by Jews; for Portugal annually sent thither two ships with criminals, Jews and prostitutes, for the purpose of catching parrots, and also made it a place for the deportation of those condemned by the Inquisition. The secret Jews, the New Christians, threw off the mask as soon as they reached the foreign soil, and

*Cf. Dr. Cyrus Adler's "Sources of American Jewish History," in *Menorah Monthly*, vol. VII, p. 193, n. 1.

turned to the religion of their fathers, so that early in the XVIIth century the land was inhabited by many Jews." Cf. also Dr. Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish-Portuguese Discoveries*, transl. by Prof. Gross (New York, 1894), p. 129 ff. On the story of the attempts to introduce the Inquisition into Brazil, see the rare and curious work, published anonymously in Paris, anno 1688, entitled *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, p. 200 ff.; Dr. Hahn, *l. c.* p. 35.

2. On secret Jews and their doings in Brazil, we again refer the reader to Kayserling's erudite book on *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 126–134, where some account is given of the Inquisition in the colonies. (See also *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 73 ff. and 102.)

3. See for instance *Sephardim*, pp. 294–296; *Occident*, *l. c.* pp. 217–218.

4. Dr. Fishell obtained his data from historical sources. For example, the transportation of sugar to Brazil is recorded by Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalan in his *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1779), vol. II, p. 43, who, in speaking of the industry of the Marranos in Española and on the other islands of the Indies, says that Jews expelled from Portugal first introduced the cultivation of sugar from the island of Madeira into America (cited by Dr. Kayserling in his *Christopher Columbus*, p. 128, n. 2). So also Lindo in his *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1848, p. 374: "By the assistance of some enterprising men they began to cultivate the sugar-cane, which in 1531 they had procured from Madeira." Dr. Fishell has, however, 1548. Jost, moreover, claims (*Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1828, vol. VIII, p. 265; *Allgemeine Geschichte des israelitischen Volkes*, etc., Berlin, 1832, vol. II, p. 446), that the first settlement of the Jews in Brazil took place in 1624, when the French Jews in the American colonies, who were not endowed with the privilege of planting and farming in common with their other brethren

(the secret Jews?), sought protection together with others from all parts of America in Brazil, just as the Dutch arrived, bringing with them Jewish merchants who were desirous of settling there. Koenen (*Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, pp. 277–278) informs us of a fact totally ignored by historians, *i. e.*, that several Jews, seeing no other way of reaching the New World, enlisted in the Dutch navy and landed with the conquering fleet when they (the Dutch) assumed control of Brazil in 1624. They joined their brethren the New Christians, who, upon seeing the liberties granted to their co-religionists by the government of Holland, did not hesitate to openly renounce the yoke of their feigned faith and re-avow Judaism. They were instrumental in the conquest of the Portuguese. Cf. furthermore the remarks of Dr. Kayserling in *Sephardim*, p. 296; *Occident*, *l. c.* p. 218; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 293–294; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X[2] (Leipzig, 1882), p. 26; J. Alexander, *The Jews, their Past, Present and Future* (London, 1870), pp. 150–151: "The first Jewish colony in America was established in Brazil, in 1624, when the Dutch took possession of that country, bringing some Jewish traders with them, who, in the sequel, attracted not a few secret Jews from the Portuguese settlements"; Dr. A. Hahn, "The Primitive Jewish Settlements in America," published in *American Jews' Annual* for 1886–1887, p. 35; Lady Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History* (Phila., 1890), p. 337.

5. See also I. M. Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte d. israelitischen Volkes*, etc., Berlin, 1832, vol. II, p. 446, who gives the date 1639. Dr. Fishell, in his chronological notes, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 94, 99, gives 1650 as the date of colonization, which is hardly correct. Koenen (*Geschiedenis d. Joden*, etc., *l. c.* p. 283) quoting the *Essai historique* on Surinam, vol. II, pp. 113–122, where the privileges extended to Nassy by the French government are printed in full, makes it take place in 1659, which is followed by Dr. Hahn, *l. c.* p. 36: "The Dutch West India Company, by an act dated

Sept. 12th, 1659, granted to David Cohen Nassy [not Nasi] extensive rights and liberties for himself and his companions to start a colony at Cayenna" (!) etc. This document is reprinted in Koenen's extremely valuable book, pp. 460–466, and ought to be printed for further reference in the Publications of this Society. Mr. J. Alexander accepts 1639 as the proper date (*The Jews*, etc., p. 151). Cf. also Lindo, *l. c.* pp. 346–7.

6. Cf. also I. M. Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, etc., vol. II, p. 446: "Es verdient bemerkt zu werden dass diese Colonie in Betreff einiger liturgischen Angelegenheiten, namentlich sofern sie vom Calender und der Jahreszeit bestimmt werden, wegen der auf der andern Halbkugel im Süden sich ergebenden Abweichungen, bei dem Rabbinen Chajim Schabthai in Saloniki sich Raths erholten." Strange to say no one besides Jost, not even Kayserling, refers to this important item. Dr. Hahn of course derived his information from the former, as he himself states.

7. Under date of 1642, Dr. Fishell, peculiarly enough, has nothing to say, which leads us to suppose that by some mistake the numbers in his item of 1624 were transposed, for it is in 1642 that the 600 Jews came from Holland, not in 1624. Some sources have the date 1641 (cf. Jost, *Geschichte d. Israeliten, l. c.* vol. VIII, pp. 241, 266; *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* (Leipzig, 1859), vol. III, p. 198—date omitted in his *Allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 446; J. Alexander, *The Jews*, p. 151; Rev. Dr. B. Pick's *Historical Sketch of the Jews* (N. Y., 1887), p. 29; *The Centurial*, edited by Rev. E. M. Myers, New York, 1890, p. 103; but others more authentic record 1642 as the year of the emigration of Portuguese Jews from the Netherlands. Cf. De Rossi, *Dizionario*, ed. Hamberger (Leipzig, 1839), p. 13; כאכף vol. IV, p. 167; Basnage, *Histoire de Juifs*, etc. (English version by Taylor), p. 741; Da Costa, *Israel und die Völker* (1855), pp. 318, 319; J. W. Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova* (London, 1856), p. 467; B. Pick in McClintock &

Strong's *Theolog. Encyclopaedia*, vol. XI, p. 69 b; Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie*, Leipz., 1836, p. 78; Lindo, *l. c.* p. 369 (1641); Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden*, p. 278 (cf. also p. 182); Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, etc., vol. II, p. 140, IX, 398, XII, 323; D. Cassel, *Leitfaden f. . . . jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (2d ed., Berlin, 1869), p. 109; Dr. Hahn, *l. c.* p. 35; Lady Magnus, *Outlines*, etc., p. 337; *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75. De Aguilar says Dr. Kayserling (*Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 398) remained 12 years in the New World, where he with Isaac C. Mattathias Aboab de Fonseca, the latter known for his eloquence and his early association with Menasseh ben Israel, founded a Jewish colony. Unfortunately its existence was of but short duration, owing to the Portuguese recovery of Brazil, and the two great leaders, fearing the vengeance of their powerful foes, deemed it wise to return to Amsterdam in 1654. Aguilar is thus warmly eulogized by De Barrios (*Tora Or*, 25; *Arbol de las Vidas*, 79):

"Moyses Raphaal De Aguilar
Aguila de excelsa cumbre,
La vista entrega á su lumbre
I á la fama su bolar:
Los ojos sabe aclarar
A la estudiosa esperança
Del Medras que antes alcança
Menasses ben Israel,
En la cura Raphaël,
Y Moyses en la enseñança,
Primero ilustró al Brasil," etc., etc.

Cf. also Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 703, No. MCDLXIII; also p. 998, No. MCMXIV g, and *ibid.*, p. 537, No. MCXL. On obtaining possession of the Brazils, the Portuguese ordered the Jews to quit in 1654 (*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 99; *The Centurial*, p. 105), but showed them much kindness and consideration. The government placed at their disposal 16 vessels to convey them and their property to any destination they chose, and fur-

nished them with passports and safeguards. They arrived in safety, although one of their vessels, attacked by pirates, was rescued by the French and escorted to New Holland (?). Cf. also an article in the Hebrew journal הכאכף for 1784, *ap.* Jost, *Gesch. d. Isr.* vol. VIII, pp. 241–42; Da Costa, *Israel und die Völker* (Frankf. a. M. 1855), pp. 321–2; Dr. Hahn, *l. c.* p. 36.

8. *Menorah Monthly*, ed. by M. Ellinger, vol. XIII (1892), p. 415.

9. "In the middle of the seventeenth century we find several excellent Jewish scholars in Brazil (Isaac Aboab, Rafael di Aguilar, Daniel Lopez Laguna, Isaac Nasci). A whole collection of Hebrew poems, based upon Hollandish South America (Paramaribo and the Jewish village of Savannah) has been preserved for us—namely, elegies treating on the northern invasions of the Portuguese, entitled יכר רב; cf. *Meassef*, 1785, p. 32." Whether Laguna lived also in Brazil, or merely contributed to the compilation during his residence on the island of Jamaica—which is more probable—we are not able to ascertain.

10. The title of the work containing these orations is given in an article on the "Temple of Amsterdam," in the *Menorah Monthly*, vol. XVII, No. 4, pp. 227–232 (1894). Franz Delitzsch, in his *Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie* (1836), p. 174, mentions a Jewish poet, Isaac Vilosinus, of Holland. Is he of the same stock? The name is certainly identical with that of our Brazilian apologist. (Cf. Roest, *Catal. of Hebrew Books*, Amst., 1870, p. 80, No. 1377.)

11. Cf. De Barrios, *Arbol de las Vidas*, 72:

> "Josijahu Pardo, eloquente,
> A su padre y suegro (David Pardo y Mortera) imita."

In *Gibath Shaul* 116[b] is published a Hebrew poem on Morteira signed תלמיד לאבי אבי רכב ישראל . . . יאשיהו בכמוהר"ר פארדו See also Barrios, *Chonen Dallim* 84, Hazen (*Chonen Dallim*) su preceptor al virtuoso Jaxam *Josijahu Pardo* . . . al

America passa; *Jesiba de los Pintos* (2). La academia presidida entoneis de los Jaxamim Jacob Sasportas de Oran, y *Josijahu* (not *Josijahn* as in *Monatsschrift*, VIII, 389, n. 3, l. 9 fr. bottom). *Pardo.* Este es oy Jaxam del Kahal Kados de *Curaçao*; *Gemilut Chassadim* 53, presidio *hasta* elaño de 5434 el Jaxam *Josijahu Pardo*; *Arbol de las Vidas*, 83, . . . en *Curaçao* fue Jaxam, y oy lo es en *Jamaica* (cf. *Monatsschrift*, vol. VIII, p. 389; IX, 398, n. 4; also Wolf. *Bibl. Hebr.* vol. III, p. 281, no. DCLXXI, c, *s. v.* ר' יאשיהו פארדו; H. J. Michaels' *Or-ha-Chajim*, etc., Frankfurt a. M., 1891, p. 430, No. 941, etc.

12. Cf. De Rossi, *Dizion. Storico*, etc., ed. Hamberger; p. 185. Fuerst, *Bibl. Jud.*, vol. II, p. 257, also gives the erroneous date 1742. There is only one edition of this translation and that appeared in 1720. See Prof. M. Steinschneider's *Jewish Literature* (London, 1857), p. 235; Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poësie*, etc. (Leipzig, 1836), p. 78; James Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1875), p. 56; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 324; Dr. David Cassel, *Leitfaden f. jüdische Geschichte u. Literatur*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1869), p. 111, omitted in Mrs. H. Lucas's English version.

13. Our narrative of Laguna's romantic career is borrowed from Dr. Kayserling's excellent article on "Sephardic Jews in America," in Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, pp. 219–221. It is a condensed translation of his chapter on America in *Sephardim*, etc. (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 297-303. The same author wrote, furthermore, a biographical sketch of this poet in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III (Frankf. a. M., 1857, pp. 414-20). Prof. Graetz in his two histories (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X[2], p. 325; *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Juden*, vol. III, p. 504) does full justice to his merits as poet. Strangely enough, Dr. Karpeles in his *Gesch. d. jüd. Literatur*, and Lady Magnus in her *Outlines of Jewish History*, omit him altogether. Cf. also Jost, *Allgemeine Gesch. d. Israeliten*, vol. II, p. 447; *Gesch. d. Judenth. u. s. Sekten* (Leipzig, 1859),

vol. III, p. 267; Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, sec. 2, vol. XXVII, p. 458 (1720, not 1742); Puiyblanch, *Die entlarvte Inquisition* (Germ. ed. by Walton, Weimar, 1817), p. 153 ff. The name Laguna, says Kayserling (*Sephardim*, p. 361, No. 494), was also borne by Prophiat Duran, otherwise known as Efodi. See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 462, note m); Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles* (Germ. ed., Frankf. a. M., 1855), p. 325; Kayserling, *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 174.

14. See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, pp. 63–64. The title of the German original is: Dankpredigt über den grossen und herrlichen Sieg welchen Se. Majestät unser allerweisester König den 5. December 1757 über die gesammte und weit überlegene Macht der Oesterreichischen Kriegsvölker bei Leuthen in Schlesien erfochten. Gehalten am Sabbath, den 10. desselben Monaths in der Synagoge der hiesigen Judengemeinde von David Hirschel Fraenckel, Ober-Land-Rabbiner. Ins Deutsche übersetzt. Berlin, 1757.

The English translation, referred to above, bears the following title: "A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Important and astonishing victory obtain'd on the Fifth of December MDCCLVII over the united and far superior Forces of the Austrians, in Silesia: Preached on the Sabbath of the Tenth of said month at the Synagogue of the Jews in Berlin by David Hirchel [read *Hirschel*] Franckel [read *Fraenckel*] Arch-Rabbi. Translated from the German original printed at Berlin. Philadelphia. Printed by Andrew Steuart, and sold at his Printing Office at the Bible-in Heart in Second-street, 1763."

15. See Rosenbach's *Jews in Philadelphia previous to the year* 1800 (Philadelphia, 1883); Isaac Markens' *Hebrews in America* (New York, 1888), p. 62; Henry Samuel Morais' *Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 11; *American Hebrew*, Dec. 7th, 1894, p. 157; my article on the "Quaker City Jewry" in the *Reform Advocate*, January 19th, 1895, p. 354.

16. On p. 81 of the catalogue, No. 1381, we read the following item:

"*Solas, S. Mendes de*, Sermoens. Amst., 1718, 24, 25, 44, 50. 6 pièces en 1 vol. demi-rel. 4to. Collection extrèmement rare et intéressante.

Le denier de ces sermons fut prononcé à Curaçao par De Solas ou De Solla, alors Rabbin des communautés israél., Mikvé Israel et Nevé Salom. Ce sermon est intitulé, *Triunfo da Uniao contra o pernicioso da discordia,* et se rapporte probablement à certaines discordes, qui ont eu lieu entre le rabbin et quelques personnes de la communauté." Perhaps Rev. Dr. de Sola of Montreal, who is evidently a member of the same family, will enlighten us more on this subject.

Dr. M. Kayserling, in his bibliography of Spanish-Portuguese homiletics (Beilage No. 6 to vol. I, Berlin, 1870, of his *Bibliothek Juedischer Kanzelredner*, p. 41), has the following entry: "*Sola* (*Solla*), Semuel Mendes de, Haham in Amsterdam and Curaçao:

"Sermam funeral e moral que as exequias do muy docto H. H. R. Aharon Cohen de Lara, dign. Hazan de K. K. de Talmud Tora preg. R . . . em Sabb. אמור, 20 Ijar 5504," 4to, Amsterdam, 5504 = 1744.

"Oraçaõ funebre de su S. A. Princ. Guilhermo IV, faleceo em 22 Oct. de 1722, preg. no K. K. de Mikwe Israel na Illa de Curaçaõ por o ins. R. . . . R. d. d. congregacion," 4to, Amsterdam, Jansen em Casa de Mondovy 5531 = 1771.

"Sermaõ Penitencial que neste K. K. de Talmud Tora preg. R. . . . em Sab. נצבים וילך 5544," 4to, Amsterdam, Proops, 5545 = 1785.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 83, No. 1404: "*Solla, Samuel Mendes de,* Orden de la Agada que se puede dezir en la noche de Purim. 12 ff. 4to. Inédit. Travestie de la liturgie pascale pour la fête de Haman." (Cf. also note 18.)

18. *Ibid.*, p. 80, No. 1378: Sermoens en Espagn ou en Portug. par Sal. Aeyllon (1723), Sal. Salem (1765), J. Lopez Da Fonseca à Curaçao (1780), S. Mendes Da Solla (1785),

J. De S. De Meza (1787), et Acohen D'Azevedo (1788). 6 pièces 4to. Collection de pièces rares.

Kayserling, *l. c.* p. 3 writes: *Fonseca*, Jahacob Lopes de, Haham in Curaçaõ:

"Sermaõ moral e panegirico que no K. K. Mikwe Israel pregou o H. H. R. . . . em Curaçaõ em ש׳ בראשית 29. Tisri 5540," 4to, Amsterdam, Proops, 1780.

"Sermaõ . . . 4to, *ibid.* 1763."

The former is the one alluded to by M. Roest in his *Catalog*, etc., No. 1378.

19. See on his life and works, Hoefer, *Nouv. Biogr. Gén.*, vol. XL, p. 282; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, etc., vol. VIII, p. 220[a]. Pinto was born in 1715, and died August 14, 1787, at La Haye.

20. To the will of Joshua Isaacs (preserved in Record of Wills, vol. XV, Nos. 245 and 246, pp. 235–237, in the Surrogate's Office, N. Y.), dated New York, the 13th July, 1744, the names of David Machado, Jacob Pinto, Samuel Pinto and Myer Myers are signed as witnesses. The name of Samuel Pinto is not mentioned in Mr. Phillips' article. The writer is engaged in copying all Jewish wills conserved in the Records at New York.

21. See Dr. I. M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1832, pp. 268–269: "In New-Port auf Rode-Island, ist eine kleine Gemeinde, welche unter der Leitung des Hajim Carigal, eines aus Hebron gebuertigen Rabbinen von vielen Erfahrungen, die er auf weiten Reisen erworben hatte, und gründlichen Kentnissen, besondere Aufmerksamkeit erregte. Dieser Mann ward von dem Präsidenten Stiles (kurz vor der amerikanischen Revolution) sehr geschätzt, und seines vertrautesten Umganges gewürdigt. Er besuchte sogar oft die christlichen Kirchen und hatte das Vergnügen, seinen Freund als stillen Zuschauer in der Synagoge zu sehen. Durch ihn und einige andere Rabbinen, von gleich vorurtheilsfreien Gesinnungen, erlernte Stiles die hebräische Sprache, bis zu einem hohen Grade von Fertigkeit. Die Gemeinde befand

sich sehr wohl dabei, und achtete ihre Rabbinen um so höher." Cf. also Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, 1855, pp. 260, 261, 295–7.

22. Since the present paper was written the writer has been informed of the existence of another homiletic pamphlet issued several years later by Isaac Karigel, a copy of which is said to be in the library of the New York Historical Society. In a future article on Karigel's relationship to Dr. Stiles use will be made of this publication.

Appendix I.

(From the *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, ed. by Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, vol. I, pp. 124–125.)

Jacob Andrade Vellosino.

"Jacob de Andrade Vellosino, a doctor of medicine and a naturalist [!] who became celebrated in Holland, was born in Pernambuco in 1639, at the time when the Dutch dominion flourished most under the government of Prince Maurice of Nassau.

He was the son of a Dutchman, and, as his surname of Andrade would lead to believe, of a Pernambuco or Portuguese lady; for it is well known that many marriages took place between the Dutch and the natives of Pernambuco, despite the national repulsion then observed.

When in 1654 those invaders capitulated in Recife, the families of the Dutch who had married in the capitania where they ruled were allowed freely to retire.

Jacob de Andrade Vellosino accompanied his parents to Holland, where he completed his studies commenced in Recife, graduated in medicine, established in Amsterdam, obtained a good name, and attained a well-merited reputation as an able physician and naturalist. He published scientific works and memoirs in the language of his adopted country, which deserved the praise of learned Dutch writers. He died in 1712, at the age of seventy-three.

In the absence of more precise dates in the life of Jacob de Andrade Vellosino, his name is remembered on the 27th of January, the day on which, in the year 1654, owing to the capitulation of Taborda, he, following his parents, left the land on which he was born."

Appendix II.

Privileges granted by the British Government to the Jews of Surinam.

Whereas it is good and sound policy to encourage as much as possible whatever may tend to the increase of a new colony, and to invite persons of whatsoever country and religion, to come and reside here and traffic with us; and whereas we have found that the Hebrew nation, now already resident here, have, with their persons and property, proved themselves useful and beneficial to this colony, and being desirous further to encourage them to continue their residence and trade here, we have, with the authority of the governor, his council and assembly, passed the following act:

Every person belonging to the Hebrew nation now resident here, or who may hereafter come to reside and trade here, or in any place or district within the limits of this colony, shall possess and enjoy every privilege and liberty possessed by and granted to the citizens and inhabitants of this colony, and shall be considered as English-born; and they and their heirs shall in this manner possess their property, whether real or personal.

It is also hereby declared, that they shall not be compelled to serve any public office in this colony, and that we receive them under the protection and safeguard of our government, with all the property they now hold, or shall hereafter possess or import from any foreign place or kingdom abroad. We also grant them every privilege and liberty which we ourselves enjoy, whether derived from laws, acts, or customs, either regarding our lands, our persons, or other property,

promising them that nothing of what they now possess, or shall hereafter acquire, shall be taken from them or be appropriated among ourselves, by any person of whatsoever rank, but that, on the contrary, they shall have full liberty to plant, trade, and do whatsoever they may consider conductive to their advantage and profit, on condition that they shall be true subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King of England, and shall obey all orders already issued by him, or which he may hereafter promulgate. It is, however, to be well understood that none of these orders shall be contrary to what is herein contained.

It is also hereby granted and permitted, in the most ample manner possible, to the Hebrew nation, to practise and perform all ceremonies and customs of their religion, according to their usages; also those relating to their marriages and last wills or testaments; and that the acts of marriage made according to their rites and customs shall be held valid in every respect. It is also hereby declared that they shall not suffer any let or hindrance in the observance of their sabbaths or festivals, and those who shall trouble them on that account shall be considered disturbers of the public peace and shall be punished accordingly. Also that they shall not be bound to appear, on the said days, before any court or magistrate; and that all summonses and citations for the said days shall be null and void. Neither shall their refusal of payment of any claim made against them on these days prejudice them in any way, or diminish any right they may have.

The possession of ten acres of land at Thoxarica is also hereby granted to them, that they may build thereon places of worship and schools, also for the burial of their dead. They shall, moreover, not be compelled to do personal duty, but shall be permitted to send a substitute, except in case of war, when they also shall be bound to come forward with the other inhabitants. Permission is also hereby granted them to have a tribunal of their own; and that in cases so

litigated, the deputies of their nation may pronounce sentence in all cases not exceeding the value of ten thousand pounds of sugar. Upon which sentence, pronounced by the said deputies, the judge of our court shall grant execution to issue; and they shall keep registers and records of the same according to custom. When an oath shall be required, it shall be administered in conformity with the customs of the Hebrew nation; and such oath shall be deemed valid and have all the force and effect of a judicial oath, notwithstanding any law to the contrary.

That all this may be fully known, I have, by order of his excellency the governor, his council and assembly, signed the present on the seventh of August, 1665.

(Signed) JOHN PARRY, *Secretary.*

*It is needless to enumerate the books containing copies of these privileges. We shall only mention E. H. Lindo's *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848), pp. 381–3, and H. J. Koenen's valuable prize essay, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1843), pp. 466–468, where the Dutch text is given. It remains yet to be stated that upon the cession of the colony to the Dutch, four supplementary articles of rights were added to the English charter of privileges, which are reproduced in Koenen's work (pp. 468–470).

NOTES.

The first notice containing a reference to Jews in a Philadelphia newspaper occurs in the *American Weekly Mercury*, November 8 to 15, 1722. In an account of a great hurricane that swept over the island of Jamaica, the waters, it is said, "overflowed Port Royal Point and washed down all the houses except the Jews Street."

The notice may be interesting to the person who will take up at some future time the history of the Jewish settlements in Jamaica. The expression Jews Street points to a considerable body of settlers at the time living together in a certain district. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

Among the signers of a petition to General Montgomery, drawn up by the inhabitants of Three Rivers, Canada, in 1775, and requesting that they be not treated harshly nor disturbed in their business or personal transactions, was the well-known Aaron Hart.

By the end of 1779 the bills of credit emitted by Congress had reached such a state of depreciation as to be almost worthless. Petitions and remonstrances against their further issue began to rain upon Congress about that time, and one of such came from Philadelphia in September, 1779. It was signed by a large number of that city's most influential citizens, and among the names appended are those of Benjamin Seixas, Judah (?) Cohen, Moses Judah, Friedrich Cohn and Moses Gomez.

The following concerning Aaron Lopez is to be found in *Rhode Island Col. Rec.*, vol. VII, pp. 462–463 :

"Whereas, Mr. Aaron Lopez exhibited unto this Assembly an account by him charged against the colony, for four half barrels of gunpowder, delivered for the use of the colony, and one whale-boat; which said account being duly examined,—

It is voted and resolved, that the same be and hereby is, allowed; and that the amount thereof being £22 16s. lawful money, be paid the said Aaron Lopez out of the general treasury."

In May, 1776, Jacob Pinto and Samuel Bishop were appointed to appraise a certain amount of land to be conveyed by Benjamin Douglas (deceased), of New Haven, Connecticut, to Timothy Jones in payment for a negro. (*Conn. Col. Rec.*, vol. XV, pp. 349–350.)

Mrs. John Warder, extracts from whose diary have recently been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, notes under date "12 mo. 15, 1786," Philadelphia: "Met [at Jeremiah Warder's] Martin Prager, a Hebrew who left England a year or two since and now disclaims all title to his religion."

In Act No. 130 of the laws of Georgia, published at Philadelphia in 1800, we find a reference to Daniel Nunes, one of the first Jewish immigrants to that colony, wherein he is mentioned as holding the office of Waiter for the port of Savannah in March, 1765.

In the same collection, the name of David Emanuel, as "President of the Senate of Georgia," is signed to all the laws made between January, 1797, and February, 1798.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

The following is a copy of a document presented to the Society by Mr. Mendes Cohen:

March 19, 1778.

I the Subscriber do hereby declare that I have had the Care of the Prisoners in the british Service, at Easton in Pennsylvania from last September, as Agent to Mr. David Franks of the City of Philadelphia. That during this whole Time I have seen nothing like Cruelty exercised towards them nor heard of any Insult offered to them. On the Contrary, I have observed a Care & attention have been paid to their wants, and that the company & Goal Keeper have behaved to them Civilly and with humanity—That the greater part of them have had the Liberty of several miles limits, and do know that they have faithfully recd. one Pound of meat & one Pound of Bread p man p Day 'till within about two Months past, when they were restricted to 12 ounces of each—That they have frequently been allowed to work out for the Inhabitant & recd. a Dollar p Day wages—That Surgeons are appointed to attend the sick, who have necessaries provided for their Comfort—That all the officers are & have been on their Parole, and none have ever been Confined to my knowledge—That such prisoners who have wanted necessaries, as Shoes, Shirts, &c., have had liberty to purchase them in the Town when they had money.

(Signed) Myer Hart.

The fact that Myer Hart was at Easton in 1778 was mentioned by Dr. S. Solis Cohen (*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 66, footnote). The relation of David Franks to the prisoners was treated by Dr. Friedenwald in the Publications of this Society, No. 1, p. 70 ff.

A Traveler in Surinam.

The references to be obtained from books of travel of an early date furnish most valuable suggestions, though they must be employed with caution. The title of the work examined is as follows:

"Narrative, | of a five years' expedition, against the | Revolted Negroes of Surinam, | in Guiana on the Wild Coast of | South America: | from the year 1772, to 1777: | elucidating the History of that Country, and | describing its Productions, Viz. | Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots; | with an account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guiana. | By Capt.ⁿ J. G. Stedman | illustrated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author. | . . London, Printed for J. Johnson, S.ᵗ Paul's Church Yard, & J. Edwards, Pall Mall, 1796 | "

In vol. I, p. 288, he speaks of "two elegant Jewish synagogues" at Paramaribo, "one German, the other Portuguese."

P. 290. "Provisions, however, are excessively dear in general, especially those imported, which are mostly sold by the Jews and masters of ships. The first enjoy extraordinary privileges in this colony."

Vol. II, p. 28. There was a corps in the West India Company's service "composed of all nations, Christians, Gentiles, and even Jews; the latter, I must observe, devoured pork and bacon without scruple or hesitation, as often as they could find it."

P. 127. Animal food was "so very scarce, that even the Jew soldiers of the Society troops devoured salt pork as fast as they could catch it."

Pp. 132, 133. He speaks of the "spot formerly called Jerusalem."

P. 198. "I staid some time longer at Paramaribo, where at the house of a Mr. Reynsdorp, I saw a Portuguese Jew teaching his children the Christian religion."

Pp. 224, 225. "I found plenty of *tomatè*, which being produced in many British gardens, I will not attempt to describe; but only observe that the Jews are particularly fond of it, and stew it with butcher's meat instead of onions."

Opposite p. 292 there is an engraving with the legend, "View of the Settlement called the Jews' Savannah." This is described as being distant from Paramaribo "in a straight line, something more than forty, but by water above sixty English miles. Here the Jews have a beautiful synagogue, and keep their solemn fasts and festivals; here they also have their capital schools and seminaries, for at this village reside some very respectable Jewish families. These people possess particular rights and privileges in this colony, with which they were endowed by King Charles the Second, when the settlement of Surinam was English; and such are these privileges I never knew Jews to possess in any other part of the world whatever."

P. 296, he refers to "a Jew whose name was De Vries."

This traveler, whose work is still read because of its real merit, by no means bears testimony which is uniformly friendly to the Jews. In several places (vol. I, pp. v, 126, 127) he speaks of their cruel treatment of slaves.

CYRUS ADLER.

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I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

Objects.

II. Its object shall be the collection, preservation and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of the Jews on the American Continent.

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III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

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Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

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Officers.

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